

The

American Historical Review

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, 1919

MEMBERS of the American Historical Association expect to find at the beginning of the April number of this journal an account of the transactions of the annual meeting of the Association, customarily held in the last days of December preceding, and with it certain items of formal matter relating to the meeting, such as the text of important votes passed by the Association or the Executive Council, a summary of the treasurer's report, an exhibit of the budget or estimated receipts and expenditures or appropriations, and a list of the officers of the Association and of the various committees appointed by the Executive Council. The thirty-fourth annual meeting, which was to have taken place at Cleveland on December 27 and 28, was indefinitely postponed on account of a strong recommendation, received from the health officer of that city a few days before the date on which the meeting should have taken place, that it should be omitted because of the epidemic of influenza then prevailing in Cleveland. Yet, though there is no annual meeting to chronicle in these pages, it will be convenient to members that the formal matter spoken of above should be found in its customary place. Moreover, though no meeting of the Association has taken place, there was a meeting of the Executive Council held in New York on January 31 and February 1, 1919, some of the transactions of which, analogous to those of the Association in its annual business meeting, may here for convenience be described. In a few cases the text of votes passed is printed in an appendix to the present article.

The Council met at Columbia University, with the president, Mr. William R. Thayer, in the chair. Three ex-presidents of the Association, Andrew D. White, Henry Adams, and Theodore Roosevelt, and A. Howard Clark who for thirty years had served the Association in the successive offices of assistant secretary, secretary,

and curator, having died since the last meeting of the Council, memorials and resolutions commemorating them and their services to historical scholarship and to the Association were read and adopted.

Resolutions of sympathetic congratulation to Professors Paul Fredericq and Henri Pirenne, on the occasion of their return to the University of Ghent after thirty-two months of unjustifiable and cruel exile and detention in Germany, enforced upon them by the late German government, were passed, with expressions of cordial good wishes for the future.

The annual report of the secretary, Mr. Waldo G. Leland, showed a total membership on December 1, 1918, of 2519, as against an enrollment of 2654 on December 19, 1917, and of 2739 on the same date in 1916. A summary of the annual report of the treasurer, Mr. Charles Moore, is presented in an appendix to these pages.

Invitations from Cleveland and Minneapolis for the annual meeting of 1919 were before the Council. It voted, on account of the special conditions resulting from the war, which seemed to make a central meeting-place desirable, to hold the meeting in Cleveland in the concluding days of December, 1919. No action was taken respecting the place of meeting for 1920.

The omission of the annual meeting in 1918 does not carry with it the omission of the annual report for that year. The act of incorporation requiring the presentation of an annual report to the secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, provision was made for a volume which will contain the usual formal records of the Association, or so many of them as have been made, together with materials supplied by some of the various commissions and committees. The Historical Manuscripts Commission, which reported through its chairman, Dr. Justin H. Smith, purposes to print in that report a body of correspondence of Santa Anna, of the period of the war between the United States and Mexico. It is planned that the annual report for 1919 shall contain a large selection, edited for the commission by Professor Robert P. Brooks of the University of Georgia, from the letters to John C. Calhoun preserved among his papers at Clemson College. After this, the commission expects to print a large selection, probably three volumes, of the papers of Stephen F. Austin, edited by Professor Eugene C. Barker. These proposals were authorized by the Council.

In the case of the Public Archives Commission, which has nearly completed its round of activities in connection with the

archives of the several states, provision was made for deliberation by Mr. Paltsits and his associates upon a new programme of work. The committee on bibliography, Professor George M. Dutcher, chairman, reported that the Bibliography of American Travel is nearly ready for publication; this committee was charged also with the preparation, in conjunction with the American Library Association, of a manual serving the same purposes, *mutatis mutandis*, which C. K. Adams's *Manual of Historical Literature* was designed to serve in its generation. The report of the board of editors of the *American Historical Review* was presented by its chairman, Professor Edward P. Cheyney, who at a later point in the proceedings was re-elected a member of the board for the period of six years now beginning. The Justin Winsor Prize, under the new rules which admit printed as well as manuscript essays to the competition, was awarded to Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger of the Ohio State University for his essay entitled *The Colonial Merchants in the American Revolution, 1763-1776*, printed as volume LXXVIII. of the *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*.

The committee appointed a year ago on the representation of the Association in the historical congress to be held in Rio de Janeiro in 1922 was authorized to take appropriate measures to secure governmental recognition and a Congressional appropriation sufficient to insure for the United States adequate representation at the congress.

Provision was made for reconsidering the relations between the Association and the journal conducted by Professor A. E. McKinley, hitherto known as the *History Teacher's Magazine*, but now called the *Historical Outlook*; and for considering any method that it may be practicable to adopt for continuing in time of peace, as far as is possible, the services now performed to the government and the public by the National Board for Historical Service.

One particular activity of that board was immediately taken over by the Association, namely its effort to prepare a report on the study of history in all schools of less than college grade, which shall result in the better adaptation of curricula and methods, both in respect to history and in respect to education for citizenship, to the exigencies brought upon the country by the Great War. American experience of that conflict has brought home forcibly to many minds the need of better adjustment of the school work in these lines to the changed conditions of the nation and the world. Historical training, with its ability to induce open-mindedness, patient

inquiry, and sound judgment respecting human relations, its emphasis on the idea of social development, its power of evoking loyalty to principles and institutions by revealing the cost at which the elements of civilization have been secured, offers the best means by which the school can achieve that better adjustment, can equip the young American citizen with fuller knowledge and understanding of the nation's and the world's affairs.

Educators generally recognize that the war has definitely established recent and contemporaneous history as indispensable features in the history courses of the future, and that the curriculum needs to be remade in order that time may be found for these new and compelling interests. Upon request by the National Education Association, the National Board for Historical Service had in December appointed five gentlemen, Messrs. S. B. Harding, W. C. Bagley, F. S. Bogardus, J. A. C. Chandler, and D. C. Knowlton, a committee to prepare a report on the subject. Upon report of these proceedings and upon request by the Board, the Council voted to substitute for its committee on history in schools a special committee consisting of the five members already named, together with Professors G. S. Ford, A. C. McLaughlin, and Joseph Schafer, and to instruct this committee to prepare as soon as possible a report on the changes and readjustments which should be made in the study and teaching of history and civics in all schools, elementary, secondary, rural, vocational, etc., below the grade of college. Mr. Schafer has since become chairman of this important committee and invites correspondence (1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.) from teachers and others interested in its problems and endeavors.

After preliminary meetings in Washington and New York, this Committee on History and Education for Citizenship in the Schools held a meeting in Chicago on February 28, supplemented by a helpful conference with a representative group of educators of the Middle West. It hopes to make such supplementary conferences a constant or frequent accompaniment to its meetings.

As its most urgent problem, the committee will study the question of the history courses in the high school, and it will prepare a careful report on a first year of history and a second year of history in the high school, the former to be a course in modern history, the latter a course in the history of the United States.

In respect to historical work in the common schools, the committee accepts the report of the former Committee of Eight of the American Historical Association as a basis, but expects to study

that report with a view to adjusting its recommendations to the new situation which would result from a recasting of the high-school work, and with a view to making other improvements which may seem advisable and practicable. One suggested change is to strengthen the sixth-grade history, devoted to the European background of American history, in order to make it serve as an introduction to the modern history course in the high school as well as to the course in American history given in the seventh and eighth grades; and to dignify it by making it a basis of promotion, as is the history of the upper two years.

In the outlining of courses, the committee will seek to avoid the evils that flow from repetition in one course of material already traversed in a course preceding. In their forthcoming report, which they hope to complete by June, they expect to consider methods of teaching and not merely curricula, to present specimen lessons, and to lay greater emphasis than has heretofore been customary upon significant ideas and interpretations as opposed to a multiplicity of unrelated facts.

Perhaps the only other transaction of the Council of general interest to the members of the Association (apart from those items whose text is given below) was a vote authorizing the Council committee on finance to associate with itself seven additional members for the specific purpose of increasing the endowment fund of the Association. This work, begun by Mr. Bowen in the last months of his treasurership, but suspended on account of the entrance of the United States into the war, is now expected to be actively resumed; it is to be earnestly hoped that it will meet with great success and that members of the Association will interest themselves warmly both in contributing and in securing contributions.

Every historical student, every friend of learning in America, ought to bear constantly in mind the peculiar position, with respect to the support of the higher sort of studies, in which the United States is left at the close of the Great War. While every European nation has suffered enormous pecuniary losses, the plain fact is, though it is not a fact of which we need be proud, that America has suffered very little, no more at any rate than in a brief period will be overbalanced by the energizing of our economic methods and of a million or more of our young men. Relatively to that of Europe, our situation is one of affluence. Surely this brings its duties. The springs from which European public enterprises of science and of high scholarship have been fed have been largely dried up. It will for a long time be utterly impossible for European governments to

spend as much money in sustaining learned publications and researches as they have spent in the past. It is for America to step into the breach.

It is not necessary for us to claim a primacy in scholarship which we have not yet achieved, though we ought to do our best to achieve it; but we may well seek a primacy in expenditure for learned undertakings both international and national, may well resolve to take a far larger part in sustaining the world's scholarship than we have hitherto taken, may well make our best endeavors that the American Historical Association, our chief organization for the furtherance of historical learning, may have ample means for the support and conduct of a wide variety of laudable enterprises, both those which will specially advance historical scholarship in America and those which will be useful alike to us and to the historians of burdened Europe.

Have the elder races halted?

Do they droop and end their lesson, wearied, over there beyond the seas?
We take up the task eternal, and the burden, and the lesson,

Pioneers! O pioneers!

VOTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Voted, That any person who was a member of the Association on July 1, 1914, or who has since become a member, and who has since that date been in the active military service of the United States or of the powers associated with the United States, or who, if a citizen of the United States, has been engaged in an officially recognized war activity overseas, may, upon his or her request, be continued until September 1, 1919, on the roll of members of the Association without the payment of annual dues for such period as said member may have been engaged in said service; and the secretary of the Association is hereby authorized and directed to supply said members, upon their request, with such copies of the *American Historical Review* as they may have failed to receive by reason of said service, at the nominal price of twenty-five cents per copy.

Voted, That a special committee of three be appointed which shall be and hereby is instructed to present to the Council at its next meeting nominations, not to exceed nine in number, for corresponding and honorary membership in the Association. Messrs. G. B. Adams, J. F. Jameson, and A. C. McLaughlin were named as members of this committee.

Voted, That the treasurer be authorized to send to members, with the annual bills for 1919, a request for additional voluntary contributions of one dollar for a deficit fund.

SUMMARY OF TREASURER'S REPORT

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand December 1, 1917	\$ 2,424.35	
Receipts to date		
Annual dues	\$6,365.81	
Life membership dues	150.00	
Dividends on bank stock	260.00	
Interest on bond and mortgage	900.00	
Sale of publications	199.24	
Royalties	60.82	
Gifts:		
Historical Manuscripts Commission	150.00	
London Headquarters	106.20	
Writings on American History	240.20	
Registration fees	183.50	
Deficit fund	1,298.00	
Miscellaneous	44.34	9,958.11
		<u>\$12,382.46</u>

DISBURSEMENTS

Office of secretary and treasurer	\$1,896.41	
Committee on Nominations	33.75	
Committee on Programme, 1918	84.75	
Committee on Publications	1,486.52	
Editorial services	146.05	
General Index	250.00	
American Historical Review	4,541.85	
Historical Manuscripts Commission	14.75	
Winsor Prize Committee	100.00	
Writings on American History	240.20	
London Headquarters	156.20	
Invested funds	150.00	
Bills payable December 1, 1918	28.70	
Total disbursements		\$ 9,129.18
Balance on hand December 1, 1918		<u>3,253.28</u>
		<u>\$12,382.46</u>

BUDGET FOR 1919

APPROPRIATIONS

Offices of secretary and treasurer	\$2,000
Executive Council	300
Committee on Nominations	25
Pacific Coast Branch	50
Programme Committee	150
Publication and editorial	500
American Historical Review	4,615
Historical Manuscripts Commission	100
Adams Prize, 1917	200
Winsor Prize, 1918	200

London Headquarters	150
Plate for London Headquarters	50
Committee on History in Schools	400
Rio Janeiro Congress	25
Committee on Policy	25
Writings on American History	200
Committee on Bibliography	50
	<u>\$9,040</u>

DISBURSEMENTS SINCE DECEMBER 1, 1918

For Cleveland meeting, and withdrawal of same	\$ 166.33
Miscellaneous	97.74

ESTIMATED INCOME

Annual dues	\$6,990
Publications	300
Royalties	110
Interest and dividends	1,100
Gifts and miscellaneous	250
	<u>\$8,750</u>

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

President, William R. Thayer, Cambridge.

First Vice-President, Edward Channing, Cambridge.

Second Vice-President, Jean Jules Jusserand, Washington.

Secretary, Waldo G. Leland, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington.

Treasurer, Charles Moore, Detroit.¹

Secretary of the Council, Evarts B. Greene, Urbana, Ill.

Executive Council (in addition to the above-named officers):

James Schouler, ²	H. Morse Stephens,
James Ford Rhodes,	George L. Burr,
John B. McMaster,	Worthington C. Ford, ²
Simeon E. Baldwin,	Herbert E. Bolton,
J. Franklin Jameson,	Henry E. Bourne,
George B. Adams,	William E. Dodd,
Albert Bushnell Hart,	Walter L. Fleming,
Frederick J. Turner,	Samuel B. Harding,
William M. Sloane,	William E. Lingelbach,
William A. Dunning,	Lucy M. Salmon,
Andrew C. McLaughlin,	George M. Wrong.

Committees:

Committee on Programme for the Thirty-Fifth Annual Meeting:

Elbert J. Benton, Western Reserve University, chairman; A. E. R. Boak, Henry E. Bourne, William E. Dodd, Dana C. Munro.

Committee on Local Arrangements: Myron T. Herrick, chairman; Wallace H. Cathcart, vice-chairman; Samuel B. Platner, secretary, 1961 Ford Drive, Cleveland; Elroy M. Avery, Elbert J.

¹ For the present, and for purposes of routine business at all times, the treasurer may be addressed at 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

² The names from that of Mr. Schouler to that of Mr. Ford are those of ex-presidents.

- Benton, C. W. Bingham, Henry E. Bourne, A. S. Chisholm, Arthur H. Clark, James R. Garfield, Frank M. Gregg, Ralph King, Samuel Mather, William P. Palmer, Frank F. Prentiss, Charles F. Thwing, J. H. Wade.
- Committee on Nominations:* Charles H. Ambler, University of West Virginia, chairman; Christopher B. Coleman, Carl R. Fish, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, Victor H. Paltsits.
- Editors of the American Historical Review:* Edward P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Carl Becker, Charles H. Haskins, J. Franklin Jameson, James H. Robinson, Claude H. Van Tyne.
- Historical Manuscripts Commission:* Justin H. Smith, 270 Beacon Street, Boston, chairman; Dice R. Anderson, Mrs. Amos G. Draper, Logan Esarey, Gaillard Hunt, Charles H. Lincoln, Milo M. Quaife.
- Committee on the Justin Winsor Prize:* Frederic L. Paxson, Army War College, Washington, chairman; Arthur C. Cole, Edward S. Corwin, Frank H. Hodder, Ida M. Tarbell.
- Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize:* Ruth Putnam, 2025 O Street, N. W., Washington, chairman; Wilbur C. Abbott, Charles D. Hazen, Conyers Read, Bernadotte E. Schmitt.
- Public Archives Commission:* Victor H. Paltsits, 48 Whitson Street, Forest Hills Gardens, L. I., New York, chairman; Herman V. Ames, Eugene C. Barker, Solon J. Buck, R. D. W. Connor, John C. Fitzpatrick, George N. Fuller, Peter Guilday.
- Committee on Bibliography:* George M. Dutcher, Wesleyan University, Middletown, chairman. Other members of the committee to be added on nomination of the chairman.
- Committee on Publications:* H. Barrett Learned, 2123 Bancroft Place, Washington, chairman; and (*ex officio*) George M. Dutcher, Evarts B. Greene, J. Franklin Jameson, Waldo G. Leland, Victor H. Paltsits, Frederic L. Paxson, Ruth Putnam, Justin H. Smith.
- Committee on History and Education for Citizenship in the Schools:* Joseph Schafer, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, chairman; William C. Bagley, Frank S. Bogardus, Julian A. C. Chandler, Guy S. Ford, Samuel B. Harding, Daniel C. Knowlton, Andrew C. McLaughlin.
- Conference of Historical Societies:* Augustus H. Shearer, Grosvenor Library, Buffalo, secretary.
- Advisory Board of the Historical Outlook:* Henry Johnson, Teachers College, Columbia University, chairman; Frederic Duncalf, Fred M. Fling, Margaret McGill, James Sullivan, Oscar H. Williams.
- Special Committee on Policy:* Charles H. Haskins, Harvard University, chairman; Carl Becker, William E. Dodd, Guy S. Ford, Dana C. Munro.
- Special Committee on the Historical Congress at Rio de Janeiro:* Bernard Moses, University of California, chairman; Julius Klein, 1824 Belmont Road, Washington, secretary; Charles L. Chandler, Charles H. Cunningham, Percy A. Martin.
- Special Committee on American Educational and Scientific Enterprises in the Ottoman Empire:* Edward C. Moore, Harvard University, chairman; James H. Breasted, Albert H. Lybber.

THE PRUSSIAN PEASANTRY BEFORE 1807¹

ONE of the things which contributed to the tragedy of 1914 was the fact that Prussians had written and studied their own history overmuch and the rest of the world had studied and described it far too little. The world outside the Hohenzollern monarchy knew something of Bismarck and Frederick the Great and their military and political triumphs, but very little of the consistent political-military, social, and economic organization of the state they typified. A complete picture of this anomalous, semi-modernized, medieval creation as it was preserved and projected into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has yet to be written in any language other than German.

The following article attempts nothing more than a description of agricultural conditions in Prussia at the opening of the nineteenth century. Its value lies less in its being the first attempt to do this in English than in the fact that the feudal agriculturalism it presents remained a persistent force in the social and political organization of the Prussia which in the last fifty years entered into the larger field of German and then of European and world history. Its essential preservation far into the democratized age of the Industrial Revolution is basic to an understanding of the political philosophy of a dominant Prussian feudal agrarian caste devoted to militarism and monarchy by divine grace.

The task of describing accurately the condition of the peasantry in Brandenburg-Prussia before 1809 is a difficult one. The land we call Prussia was a patchwork of many territorial conquests and inheritances.² Some of the provinces had but recently come under Hohenzollern rule. Each territorial unit had a long historic past differing perhaps from that of every other accretion. It is not surprising therefore if variety, rather than uniformity, is the rule in agrarian tenures and conditions. Few general statements will cover accurately the areas east and west of the Elbe, and apply with equal force to the Rhine provinces, Westphalia, Silesia, the Mark of Brandenburg, Prussia, and the Polish annexations, and to the

¹ This paper was prepared, essentially as it is, before the existence of war between the United States and Germany, as part of a larger study of Prussian conditions during the Reform Period.

² The official designation until after the Reform Period was not Prussia but "all the provinces and lands of his royal majesty", the King of Prussia.

peasants in all areas whether on private estates or the royal domains. Such generalizations if correct are not only few in number, but must be carefully worded.

The peasantry in Brandenburg-Prussia were either free or servile.³ The number of free peasants was very small and many of these migrated into the cities. Of the free peasants still remaining on the land, the most considerable class was that of the so-called *Cölmer*, chiefly in East Prussia. They were descendants or successors of peasant farmers brought in as settlers by the Teutonic Knights, or of colonists introduced in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and given special privileges as free, non-noble landowners under the law of the city of Culm.⁴ Similar small groups in other parts of the monarchy under different names⁵ formed striking exceptions to the great mass of the peasantry, who were in some way attached to the soil and burdened with services that originally sprang from the agricultural tenures and customs and inhered in the land but threatened frequently to become personal obligations. If thus transformed and increased at the will of the lord they would reduce the peasant to something like the slavery found in Russia under Catherine II.

The characteristic and predominant condition was the division of the land into large holdings called estates. Their size varied. Those in the east and northeast were usually larger than those west of the Elbe, exceeding in some cases ten thousand acres. These estates or large farms were of two kinds: 1, the private estates, owned chiefly by nobles, including also those held by corporations, ecclesiastical foundations, and municipalities, and, 2, those formed by leasing the land in the royal domains. These domain lands comprised about one-fifth of the entire area of the kingdom and were

³ General summaries with bibliographies will be found under the titles *Bauern*, *Bauernbefreiung*, etc., in L. Elster, ed., *Wörterbuch der Volkswirtschaft* (second ed., Jena, 1906), and in *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften* (Jena, 1891 ff.). The best brief account is K. J. Fuchs, *Die Epochen der Deutschen Agrargeschichte und Agrarpolitik* (Jena, 1898). This address is translated with moderate success in T. N. Carver, *Selected Readings in Rural Economics* (Boston, 1916), pp. 223-253. An excellent review of the literature up to 1900 is given in Conrad's *Jahrbücher*, LXXV. 337-368, 478-514.

⁴ W. von Brünneck contends that the development into an allodial holding was gradual and was finished by 1685. *Zur Geschichte des Grundeigentums in Ost- und Westpreussen*, pt. I., *Die Kölmischen Güter* (Berlin, 1891). It is well to remember that the *Cölmer*, though they could sell their land, had to have the consent of the lord when their holding lay within his estate. Cf. Hans Plehn in *Forschungen zur Brand.-Preuss. Geschichte*, XVII. 111 ff.

⁵ *Cölmer* was, however, the usual name applied to all free peasants by whatever right the status was obtained.

leased out for long terms. The general conditions upon them conformed to the customs of the region as to services and payments from the peasant, but were subject to modification by the terms laid down in the lease by the royal will. These royal domains were so entirely in the king's control that up to 1807 the chief efforts at reform by royal decree had been in improving peasant conditions on them and trusting to the influence of such a good example on the neighboring private noble landowners, but with little practical result.

The lands in these two types of estates were divided between the small holdings of various kinds assigned to the peasants and the land retained directly by the lord and cultivated for him, chiefly by the forced labor of these same peasants. These labor services were of two kinds: farm labor in tilling the fields and gathering the crops, and compulsory domestic service, which was often extended to include agricultural day labor. This so-called domestic service was exacted of the minor children of the peasants, usually for a period of three years, but the term was generally extensible to the time when they married and settled down. There was frequently a small payment that might be called wages, but the institution was justifiable only as a sort of apprentice training in the tasks the younger peasants might have to perform later for themselves. As the obligation to render up the young men and women for this service sprang from obligations attaching to the soil, it might even be required by one peasant of another in certain cases, or the superfluous services of this type would be assigned by the lord to some peasant who could utilize them. The evident advantage of this system was that it held the minor children to the estate at the age when they were most likely to break away. This was a real gain to the landlord in an agricultural state, where the problem of farm labor is always uppermost, and it served also the purposes of a military state which under the "canton system" assigned a certain number of households as the recruiting ground for a royal regiment.⁶ It may be added that this particular institution of forced domestic service (*Gesinde*) as it existed in Brandenburg-Prussia was of comparatively recent origin, having developed, evidently, since the end of the Thirty Years' War.

This assigning to the lord the services of the most capable of the peasant's half-grown children was often a subject of just and bitter complaint. The small wages, not sufficient to clothe the housemaid,

⁶ For an interesting study of this institution in the Mark of Brandenburg, cf. E. Lennhoff, *Das Ländliche Gesindewesen in der Kurmark Brandenburg vom 16. bis 19. Jahrhundert* (Breslau, 1906—Heft 79 in Gierke's *Untersuchungen*, etc.).

the usual complaints as to the relation of low wages to morals, the insufficient food, the long delays invented by the lord to prevent the marriage and migration of domestics whose services were valuable, thus holding them sometimes, as in Polish Upper Silesia, for periods of from six to ten years, show the darker side of the picture.⁷

The forced domestic service for minor peasant children selected by the lord was similar to his rights over the peasant parents and their labor. The great mass of the peasantry in Brandenburg-Prussia were in a condition of hereditary subjection. The general designation for their status in the eighteenth century was *Leibeigenschaft* and the other terms used, such as *Erbunterthänigkeit* and *Gutsunterthänigkeit* in the east, and *Eigenbehörigkeit* in the west, although in theory and historical origin different, meant in practice essentially the same thing, i. e., that the peasant was bound to the soil, that he could not escape from the class into which he was born, that he must perform certain services and make certain payments and, as we have seen, render up his minor children for menial service. In return for this he usually had possessory rights in a piece of land to be cultivated to his own account. Now the amount of the land and the character of the tenure, two exceptionally variable things when taken alone, were combined to create a multiplicity of peasant classes; one summary for the Mark gives the servile dues of fourteen kinds of peasants. Add to this the fact that the same class and service and holding had a different name in the main areas of Brandenburg-Prussia, and the danger of discussions which arise only from differences of terminology is evident.

The only really necessary consideration of geographical variations demanded in this account is the general difference prevailing between conditions east of the Elbe and those to the west, a division line, it may well be noted, which corresponds to that separating the older, thoroughly German, area in the west from the region east of the Elbe which had been conquered from the Slavs. The Elbe divided also the western regions of advance and profitable agriculture from those to the east which had more recently become profitable when farmed upon a capitalistic scale. There was, of course, an intermediate area partaking in part of the characteristics of both east- and west-Elbe systems of land-tenure (Lauenburg, the Old Mark west of the Elbe, the northeastern part of the present Prussian province of Saxony, and the present kingdom of Saxony). The general rule, however, was that the condition of the peasant grew

⁷ G. Knapp, *Die Bauernbefreiung und der Ursprung der Landarbeiter in den Älteren Teilen Preussens* (Leipzig, 1887), I. 67-68.

more hopeless the farther east one went, till it reached practical slavery in large parts of Russia in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and better the farther west one went toward the Dutch frontier. An east-and-west line drawn within Prussian territory showed conditions at the extreme southeast, in the Polish parts of Upper Silesia, and in the northeast, near Swedish Pomerania and Mecklenburg, worse than they were in the central Mark of Brandenburg.

West of the Elbe, in the older regions, serfdom had constantly grown better and milder as the lord had gradually divested himself of his rights in return for payments yielding a cash income or by mere lapse, and the peasant had arisen to a condition resembling freedom and farming on shares. The remnants of the old duties, now often exacted by some one other than the lord, still remained to annoy and to make the peasant's position under several patrons more complicated, even if less oppressed, than that of his fellows east of the Elbe. In the general region known as Westphalia the rights once concentrated in the hands of one lord had passed into several hands. The peasant might owe to one lord for his landholding, to another for the administration of justice, and be obliged to pay to a third and fourth some remnant of a medieval obligation, all of which annoyed and confused him in proportion as he rose nearer the condition of freedom. The Westphalian peasant's loud complaints, his ability and willingness to petition for redress, and the presence of men even from his own class who could voice his complaints, must be taken not as testimony of a situation intolerable in itself, but such only by comparison with what his Dutch or Hanoverian neighbor had attained and what he felt he might easily attain himself.

In Cleves and the county of Mark the peasant was practically free so far as his personal status was concerned. The condition in Minden, Ravensberg, Tecklenburg, Münster, and Paderborn was far less satisfactory, for the peasant in these provinces, especially Minden, labored under heavy burdens.

Five things distinguish, however, the position and life of the whole peasant class in the Westphalian region. They did not dwell in hamlets on the estate but apart on their individual holdings. The little village from which the peasant went forth each morning to perform his day's labor for himself or the lord was the exception here as it was the rule in the east. In the second place he was here a citizen of the state, or rather a subject of the king and not of the lord. Indeed he might, and more frequently than in the east-Elbe

area did, have a non-noble landlord. There was here the same prohibition of the sale of noble lands to burghers except by royal consent, but the western noble was not so class-conscious or strictly punctilious in observing the Frederickian rule in this matter. Indeed his greater readiness to convert land or feudal rights into cash, that he might live where he chose, explains the complication of several masters alluded to above. It is this complex of archaic manorial rights and masters which distinguishes the western agrarian system (*Grundherrschaft*) from the simpler, more modern, eastern concentration of all manorial rights together with agricultural and political sovereignty in the hands of one noble landowner (*Gutsherrschaft*). Thirdly, the Westphalian peasant, by whatever name he was called,⁸ is practically a renter paying in services and in kind, or in cash, or both. He generally held his land hereditarily, by a tenure that is fully exemplified in the neighboring Hanover under what was called *Meierrecht*. There are here, as elsewhere, the definite obligations which had sprung from the soil and persisted as assured means of securing labor for its cultivation. The peasant cannot leave his holding; his marriage rights and those of his children are in a degree subject to the lord's will; there is forced domestic service; and he gives unpaid labor on the lord's land for a number of days not to exceed three per week. But these, although they remove him from the class suggested to our minds by the word "renter", differ from the same services in the east, in what in this summary constitutes the fourth distinction between east and west, namely, that these services or obligations are in general fixed by law or by the terms of the peasant's tenure. To use the German phrase, they are "*bemessene Dienste*". The peasant cannot be held to work for the lord except the stipulated number of days. If his children are forced into domestic service, it is for a period frequently no longer than six months. If the lord has justiciary and police control over him, it is only when this concession has been given him by the king. In general, the Westphalian landed noble is, throughout the eighteenth century, less and less a dominant figure in the agricultural and social economy. His own holding in his estate to be worked by peasant labor was but a small fraction of the land which was held and tilled by the peasants on their own account. He could not dispossess them except for good and legally demonstrable reasons, and, it must be added, they in their turn could not transfer their holdings or mortgage them without his consent. The peasant holding was indivisible, and the heir paid his brothers and

⁸ *Eigenbehöriger* is a common term.

sisters some kind of an indemnity when he entered into possession. Lastly, the peasant in the Westphalian provinces was much freer to carry on some industry in his home. The artificial concentration of all forms of manufacture in the towns, which was characteristic of the east-Elbe region, was one of the Procrustean regulations which the Berlin officials had attempted in vain to force on Westphalia when it was under Stein's control.

There were three payments that constituted the real distinguishing marks between the peasant who was essentially a renter by *Meierrecht* and those remnants of a servile peasantry known as the *Eigenbehörige*. These three payments were the so-called "*unge-wisse Gefälle*". The first was exacted when the peasant or the son who was his heir (in some provinces the youngest son, in others the eldest) married. As under the Westphalian law the wife acquired rights in the husband's estate, the lord had made this the basis for his consent to the peasant's marriage and for demanding a money payment (*Weinkauf*) from the bride. Sometimes this was so exorbitant as to prevent the marriage, but if the resulting postponement lasted longer than two years the peasant could demand a legal adjudication, and the amount would be fixed at a reasonable sum. The second was the so-called "*Freikauf*" demanded by the lord when a peasant's child married off the estate and the lord lost its domestic service. The third, and the one most bitterly condemned by the peasants, was the *Sterbefall* or death due. At the death of a peasant or his wife the lord stepped in and claimed one-half of the movable property. The heir and the lord were supposed to arrange by mutual agreement what should be the payment and whether in kind or money. As a result, the peasant was not allowed to make a will or bequeath his property *mortis causa*, although when in health and strength he might give away not more than one-half of his movable goods. These payments were a very heavy burden upon the peasant, and the chief agitation among the Westphalian peasants was directed toward securing their abolition.⁹ Stein gave the movement his hearty support, but the slow course of affairs in Berlin brought the first measures of relief for the western provinces in 1805, after eight years of consideration. In the meantime, the

⁹ The last two payments are found chiefly in Minden and Ravensberg. They are mentioned but not fixed in amount in the *Eigentumsordnung* of 1741 for these provinces. Cf. Brünneck in *Zeitschrift der Savigny Stiftung*, XI. 103 ff. *Sterbefall* and limitation on testamentary disposal of private property did not obtain east of the Elbe and the *Allgemeines Landrecht* of 1794, section 267, abolished all limitations on testamentary disposal. Quoted by Brünneck, *op. cit.*, XI. 143.

private peasant had seen his neighbor on the royal domain lands advance to fixed services, then to fixed tenure, and ultimately to real ownership of his holding. As the noble landlords felt no necessity of following the royal example, and the domain lands were, moreover, small and scattered in the west, the conditions among the private peasantry here were not affected until the regulatory act of 1816. The Edict of Emancipation in 1807 would have had little significance for the Westphalian peasants in any case, and when it was issued they were under the French rule and enjoying such freedom and advantageous tenure of their land as they had not been able to obtain while under Prussian rulers.¹⁰

The peasants' status in the eastern provinces was a devolution since the middle of the sixteenth century from a condition more distinctly one of independence and untrammelled possession of land to something for which the courts, the pamphleteers, and the reformers of the eighteenth century had revived the hateful old German word *Leibeigenschaft* (slavery). The condition which it covered, even if as harsh and exacting as slavery, was certainly not legalized slavery. In the east, then, it was a newer condition tending to grow worse through the combination of all powers over the peasant in the hands of an active noble who directed his own estates and, stimulated by the profits of larger capitalistic agriculture, stretched every claim into a right, exacted every right, and seized every opportunity to absorb peasant holdings into his own estate. This exploitation of the peasant, this tendency to pry him loose from the holdings by reason of which he performed certain labor or paid certain dues, threatened to produce real slavery and give the lord what he desired, a landless and utterly dependent labor supply.^{10a} It was here that the monarchy stepped in to preserve the peasantry as a class with rights in the soil. Many an edict of the eighteenth century, especially after the important one of 1749, forbade the absorption by the lord of the peasant's holdings. The very frequency of these edicts to prevent the expropriation of the peasant class (*Bauernlegen, Einziehen*) is quite as much an evidence of the inability of the monarchy to control it wholly as it is proof of the king's interest in the peasants as a class. The royal interest was not so much benevolent as it was military. The peasantry, as a

¹⁰ The three payments discussed above were not abolished even under the French régime. Cf. E. Meier, *Französische Einflüsse auf die Staats- und Rechtsentwicklung Preussens im 19. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1908), II. 289-290.

^{10a} There are rare but authenticated cases of the sale of servile peasants in the Mark. It was common in the neighboring Swedish Pomerania. Cf. Conrad's *Jahrbücher*, LXXV. 365-367.

class, must be preserved from utter degradation if they were to make acceptable soldiers.

Parallel with these efforts of the monarchy are the decrees improving conditions on the royal domain. Before discussing the very considerable reforms here effected, it is necessary to consider the condition east of the Elbe of the "private peasants", as they were called, those whose holdings were part of some great manor or estate.

The central fact in the whole social and economic structure of the great eastern agricultural provinces of Brandenburg-Prussia was the estate of the noble landowner, with its subject peasant classes bound to the soil and dwelling in little villages of one hundred to two hundred or more souls. Usually the estates, especially in Brandenburg, were not so large that they could not be managed from one centre, the modest manor house, which looked like anything but our picturesque conception of a castle, and sometimes could hardly be distinguished from a peasant cottage. In the Prussian provinces farther east the estates ran much larger, with a score or more of hamlets on one estate, which for better management would be divided into several large farms.

The rule was that all who were born into the peasant class remained peasants for life. The right to purchase freedom was generally limited to the domestic service class, at the price of a year's wages, five thalers for a maid and ten for a man. The possibility of saving this amount from a like yearly wage was so remote that only those attained freedom whose families were able to contribute to the necessary funds. The great mass lived and died as they were born. None of them escaped some obligation to a landed estate and its noble owner. Even the few free peasants were subject to him in matters of justice and religion. Those who were only day-laborers did not work when and how they chose. The lord, or possibly some fellow-peasant with a holding in the estate, had the first claim to their services, at a wage fixed by custom. They were dwellers in the little manorial village, sometimes in huts of their own, sometimes in quarters near the so-called castle, and frequently in the cottages of their social betters, the landholding peasants. This was quite as effective for the purpose of attaching them to the soil and incorporating them into the life, customs, and duties of the hamlet or estate as though they had held a farm by some form of servile tenure. Their wages were a few *groschen* a day, ten for men and six for women. It is certain that on some estates the number of these day-laborers (*Insten*, *Einlieger*, etc.) was equal to that

of the landholding peasants, and their families quite as numerous. Their condition, especially in the case of those who had a cottage and a garden for their own vegetables, was, on the whole, more satisfactory than that of the peasants who held land by uncertain tenure and rendered heavy labor dues to the lord. Yet it was the mistaken ambition of many of these cotters to rise in the social scale by taking a peasant holding with all its disadvantages. Many by painful saving were able to equip themselves to do this. Then their struggles, their final failure with loss of their savings, their drunkenness bred of despair, and their final return to their old status or a lower one as wholly propertyless day-laborers, is one of the tragedies too frequently chronicled in the records of the eastern provinces.

The prevalent system of agriculture was the medieval three-field and strip system, with a marked tendency in the east to deviate from the latter system toward consolidated holdings in the three fields. The arable area was divided roughly into three fields, one for a winter crop, one for a fall crop, and one to lie fallow, with a certain rotation of cropping and lying fallow from one field to the other. In each of these fields there was land of two kinds, that held by the lord for operation on his own account but cultivated by the forced labor of the peasants, and the land assigned to the peasants by various tenures.¹¹ When this land—landlord's and peasant's alike—was in scattered strips, the cultivation of any single holding might take the peasant to a score or more of different strips scattered in the two fields under cultivation. Besides this there was the forest and pasture-land, in which the peasant had rights of pasturage and of gathering faggots and firewood, rights fixed by custom or by the character of his holdings in the arable land. It must be added that the simplicity of this complexity was undergoing marked modification in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The improvement of agricultural methods, the beginnings of modern scientific agriculture, and the increased profitableness of the grain-trade were making it more and more evident to the lord that he, at least, would gain by increasing his holdings and concentrating them where they

¹¹ Krug, the most careful statistician of that day, estimates that in 1797, i. e., at the beginning of the reign of Frederick William III., two-thirds of all the land in the Prussian state was in the hands of the peasants. Quoted by Stadelmann, *Publicationen aus dem Königlich Preussischen Staatsarchiven*, XXX. 26, foot-note. Hans Goldschmidt, *Die Grundbesitzverteilung* (Berlin, 1910), p. 133, estimates that in the Mark east of the Elbe, the Neu Mark, and Hinterpommern the distribution was 6,774,000 *Morgen* of noble land and 9,346,000 of peasant land.

had hitherto been scattered.¹² He was using his power and superior economic position to bring this about, and on many estates the consolidation into one mass of the lord's farm-land, and into another of the strips held by the peasant, was far advanced. The four-field system was replacing the three, and on the manors in the less fertile, sandy area, where land had to lie fallow five or six years or even eight before it could produce a crop, there was inevitably the necessary modification of the usual three-field rotation.

All the peasantry in the east-Elbe area were the subjects of the lord directly and took the oath of allegiance to him. They were not citizens of the state so much as they were citizens of a particular landed estate. This estate they could not leave, for they were *adscripti glebae*, "*an die Scholle gebunden*", as the German phrase had it. Death, the purchase of freedom, or successful flight were the only avenues of emancipation from the peasant status for them or their children. Their marriage was subject to the lord's consent, and he required proof that the wife was one whose dowry, health, or power to labor would add something to the resources of her husband. No peasant could learn a trade except by his patron's consent. Even if he had served in the army he returned to his peasant status unless—unthinkable thing—he had become an officer. If he became a corporal or sergeant he could not be denied emancipation, but the lord's formal consent was still necessary. If he fled, he could be brought back. He could be whipped, mildly the regulations said, or imprisoned for a few days, or put in the stocks for a few hours for disobedience, laziness, or drunkenness. That the letter of the law regarding these punishments did not always bind the lord is most evident in Upper Silesia, where a debased and brutalized Polish peasantry could only be held to their heavy tasks by flogging. They were by general testimony the most helpless and hopeless peasantry of the whole kingdom, "little better than animals" is one careful student's descriptive phrase. The peasantry were subject to the lord's justice, and this was both a source of revenue to him and the sum and evidence of the completeness of his control over them. They usually could not start a suit without his consent, and their differences with him came before the petty officials who owed their appointment to him. These officers were expected to meet certain minimum qualifications in the matter of

¹² Goldschmidt in his study of landholding in the central provinces makes it clear that the proportion of noble holdings, as compared with peasant, had increased despite a considerable amount of colonization by royal support and in the face of a succession of edicts against *Bauernlegen*. Cf. Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-134.

intelligence and legal knowledge, but this state requirement could have signified little. The pastor of the church was also the appointee of the lord, as all rights of advowson rested in the latter.

There were no adequate provisions for the education of the peasantry. The teacher was almost uniformly some one of the artisans in the village, to whom teaching was subordinate to the pursuit of his trade. One case is reported where he was forbidden to tan sheep's hides in the school-room because the stink was quite too much for the children to stand. Frequently what little attempt at teaching there might be was by the wife, and the husband was thus left undisturbed in his labors. Often he was an old soldier or state pensioner, who, having served his country once at the risk of his head, did not feel called upon to subject it to any further strain. The wages were pitiful. A few thalers from the school fund, a few more from the peasants and from the lord made up a total yearly wage of about ten to twenty or thirty dollars. In some regions the schoolmaster had the right to a cottage, a garden, and the pasturage of a cow and a couple of sheep, hogs, and geese, and was always exempt from taxes and labor dues. In other cases he moved around from house to house and from hamlet to hamlet, for usually the services of one teacher sufficed for several villages. There was no special school-room. The artisan's workshop or home, or a room in some peasant home where the teacher was quartered was all that could be expected. The school term was limited to a few months in winter. Attendance was irregular, for boys did not enter in some cases until about ten years of age and girls not until twelve, and at these ages they were available for the labor dues their parents must render. The educational results were almost *nil*, for the teachers themselves were usually woefully ignorant, nor did anybody in power seem interested in improving the rural educational situation. The lords felt that an ignorant labor supply was less likely to seek to better its condition by demands upon them, and the state was able to control such a peasantry in the army by a brutal discipline that could be applied to natives who were neither free nor intelligent citizens quite as easily as it could to the foreign mercenaries.

What has been said so far relates largely to the personal status and social condition of the peasantry. Their economic status and relation to the land they tilled remains for consideration. Disregarding the few free peasants, it may be said that the peasant of whatever type was never a landowner on private estates. He was simply a possessor. He enjoyed the usufruct of a certain part of

the manor. From this landholding, however various its forms, arose inherent obligations to be met with labor and payments in money and kind. No change in the peasant's social status by emancipation would modify in any way his legal status as a tenant or possessor of land, nor lessen his dues or make his tenure any more secure. It is extremely important to keep this in mind, for the following paragraphs describing briefly the peasant tenure, and services arising from them, deal with matters which though important in completing the picture, and vital to an understanding of Prussian eighteenth-century agricultural economy, are not matters directly affected by the Edict of Emancipation most closely associated with the name of Baron Stein.

The east-Elbe peasantry may be divided into classes according to the size of the holding. The range is from the landless and utterly dependent servile day-laborer to the "full peasant" farming on his own account an area sufficient to support several peasant families, as much as eighty acres or occasionally twice that amount, and showing a considerable degree of prosperity.¹³

The essential grouping in the east, from the standpoint of the agrarian reforms inaugurated by Hardenberg in 1811 and 1816, is based, not on the size of the holding but on the form and security of the peasant tenure. Omitting again the free peasantry or *Cölmer*,¹⁴ the tenure ranged from a subject peasantry, who might be warned off at six months' notice and were held to labor on the lord's land for any number of days per week, to the renter for a term of years with all conditions fixed in a formal lease that gave him practically a life tenure with hereditary rights for his children. This latter class, although rendering some labor service to the lord in addition to their money rent, was considered to be in such a satisfactory condition that no legislation affecting it was approved until 1850.

¹³ Meier, quoting from Lehndorff, describes the wedding celebration in 1763 of a servile peasant not far from Magdeburg. The three hundred guests present were fed carp to the amount of fifteen hundred thalers, brandy costing one hundred and fifty thalers, with forty-two capons for bouillon, and fourteen calves. The bridal furnishings cost three hundred thalers, and the dowry amounted to fourteen thousand thalers. *Französische Einflüsse*, II. 40. This case is such an undoubted exception that it may be disregarded historically.

¹⁴ By the eighteenth century the holdings of the *Cölmer* had become so interwoven with and enclaved by the manorial estates that they did not escape some dues to the lord of the village in which they dwelt side by side with his peasantry. As their ownership was rarely documented they were in constant danger of becoming serfs and thus losing the right to migrate or dispose of their lands. In the diminishing number of cases where this type of free, non-noble landowners still dwelt together in villages this danger was much less threatening.

On the basis of tenure the great mass of the landholding peasants fell in the class called *Lassiten*. This group might in a very restricted sense be called copyholders. They had only the usufruct of their holding, on terms governed chiefly by custom. The lord's commanding economic and social position enabled him to introduce conditions into the customary tenure which made it increasingly burdensome to the peasant. Unlike his analogue in the west-Elbe region, the *Lassit* made but a small payment. His chief obligation was the labor services. The most favored of the class had an hereditary right to their holding. The others constituted a non-hereditary group who might be expelled for cause. Economically, and aside from the permanency of their tenure, they were divided into those who were held to hand-labor alone and those who gave labor with horses and oxen.¹⁵

The condition of this bond peasantry is revealed more clearly by a statement of their servile obligations than by any attempt to describe them in misleading terms of English forms of land tenure.¹⁶

East of the Elbe the estates were large, most of them above a thousand acres in the Mark and much larger in Prussia.¹⁷ All the labor for the cultivation of these estates was performed by the peasants. A considerable part of this labor, at least half on many estates, was furnished by the landless day-laborer or the cottager who

¹⁵ It is fairly clear that a very considerable proportion of the *Lassiten* were held to labor with draft animals, i. e., they were *spannfähig*. It may be well to recall also that the decrees of 1811 and 1816, which really determined peasant conditions until after the revolutionary movements of 1848, dealt chiefly with the *Lassiten*. The provisions made in these edicts for transforming possession into ownership distinguish between the two classes named above.

¹⁶ No travels of an Arthur Young, no body of documents such as the French parish *cahiers* of 1789 are at hand to use in sketching such a picture of the Prussian peasantry. An occasional unofficial phrase, such as that of Stein when he described the estate of a Mecklenburg noble as reminding him of "the cave of some beast of prey who desolates everything round about and surrounds himself with the quiet of the grave", may throw a flood of light on one part of the Germany of that day but cannot safely be made the basis of a picture of rural life in the neighboring Prussia. The chief material used by investigators is contained in the accounts of a few private estates, the official reports on the administration of the domain lands, royal reforming decrees that were more honored in the breach than in the observance, the reports of commissioners and officials, and last of all the Prussian code of 1794, in which, with grandiloquent phrases, non-existent slavery is abolished and the chains of serfdom are riveted on the subject peasantry on private estates.

¹⁷ G. Cavaignac, *La Formation de la Prusse Contemporaine*, I. 84-85; Max Lehmann, *Freiherr vom Stein*, I. 88. K. Böhme, *Gutsherrliche-bauerliche Verhältnisse in Ostpreussen . . . von 1770 bis 1830* (Leipzig, 1902), pp. 2-3, is an investigation of four estates whose size he gives as 1976, 33,605, 11,342, and 27,304 acres respectively.

had no more than a garden to farm on his own account. Both of these latter groups worked for a small customary wage.

The laboring peasants gathered in the evening during working-season to receive from the lord or his steward directions for the next day's labor, which under the three-field and strip system had to be of the same kind on the same crops, chiefly barley, rye, and wheat. The next day, armed with the same tools, they gathered and after time-consuming delays, waiting for the laggards or the distant peasants who might have miles to come, they went forth to cultivate the lord's land. If since the previous directions the weather had changed, a messenger had to be despatched to reorder the day's programme. The time left over from laboring for the lord might be put in on their own scattered holdings, but this available time was limited and variable. In the west the maximum time given the lord was approximately three days in every week; in the east this was the minimum. In some eastern regions, by the prevailing tenure, six days per week on the noble's land were exacted, leaving the peasant serf but Sundays and moonlight nights to labor on his own tract. Sometimes, as has been pointed out, this day's work was simply manual labor, but more often it was an obligation to supply horses and oxen with the necessary one or two men to drive them. There seem to have been not infrequent cases where the peasant, either because he was prosperous enough to hire labor or because he had sons, was able to meet his labor obligations and be free himself to work his own land. The accounts of several estates in East Prussia have been preserved. They were evidently large and well managed, and conditions upon them were much better than they were in Upper Silesia or the Polish annexations. One hamlet on one of these estates, containing six peasants, furnished annually (in forty-eight weeks counting out holidays) ninety-six days with horses and 288 days of manual labor; another hamlet, with fourteen peasants, 208 days with horses and 120 days of manual labor.¹⁸ The labor with horses meant in these cases four horses, or two horses and two oxen, with two persons to work them. In the next ten years following 1790, the amount of this labor decreased, but the money payment, which is rarely wanting at any time, rose from between six and ten thalers to from twenty to sixty thalers. Besides this, grain had to be hauled to Königsberg once or twice dur-

¹⁸ Böhme, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13, 25. I have given only the number of *Bauern*. The list of inhabitants shows also hand-workers and day-laborers, but my inference is that they did not share in those obligations because they were not land-holders.

ing the winter, a journey of from four to eight days over wretched roads. Building material had to be transported by the peasant, and one or two cords of firewood cut, and six building timbers hewn and delivered. All these tasks, and not the size of the peasant's own holding, explain why one finds more than one-third of the subject peasants east of the Elbe keeping from two to as many as eight draft animals.¹⁹ Additional labor in the lord's mill, brewery, and distillery are mentioned. The payment of two hens, one or two geese, and one to four bushels of grain, some yarn, flax, straw, etc., is common, but these payments in kind seem nowhere to have been burdensome or subjects of serious complaint. The advantage of the peasants on the estate cited was that the amount of their labor was fixed, and that there were also here an equal body of landless day-laborers working at a few pence per day. These were equally bound to the soil and had to offer their labor first to the lord and accept conditions that were largely of his making.

Nor are we at the end of the catalogue of the peasant's obligations, for there was the necessity he was under of accepting a peasant holding if offered him by the lord on the same conditions exacted of the last tenant, and government regulation constantly

¹⁹ An inventory of the possessions of the better class of peasant on the estates mentioned shows that he owned four or five work-horses, worth in 1800 about eleven thalers each, two work-oxen worth about ten thalers each, two cows, two sheep (less frequent), a few chickens and geese, and rarely some ducks. In addition he had a *Puffwagen*, two harrows, one or two *Zochen*, one or two sledges, forks, spades, axes, etc. The total money value of the inventory is estimated as having been fifty thalers in 1770 and seventy-five thalers in 1800. Cf. Böhme, pp. 3, 9-11; and for a similar inventory of live-stock, cf. Knapp, II. 270. The value of the labor outfit of lesser peasants (*Kossäthen*) is estimated at about one-half the above figures. On the estates for which this inventory is typical, the "peasants" had holdings of from twenty-one to eighty-four acres; 64 per cent. of the 271 peasant holdings in twenty-eight villages were between fifty and seventy-seven acres, the normal size for this group being sixty-three acres. Thirty-four per cent. had eighty-four acres each. Böhme, p. 8. Goldschmidt, pp. 53-55, estimates the average size of a peasant holding, i. e., of the better class, in the Electoral Mark, at about 115 acres. The *Kossäthen* had less, but most of them in the New and Electoral Mark were *spannfähig*, but only a minority in *Hinterpommern*. The *Kossäthen* or *Kohtsassen* seldom had horses but used oxen or cows, and their holding was about one-fourth of a "peasant's". M. F. von Bassewitz, *Die Kurmark Brandenburg . . . vor dem Ausbruche des Krieges 1806* (Leipzig, 1847), p. 21. Knapp insists that the *Kossäth*, although he might be *spannfähig* and his holding as large as that of a "quarter peasant", never had it located in the general cultivated area (*Flur*), but in the field-garden (*Wurthe*) between the masses of cultivated land (*Gewannen*) or in the fallow fields often used for vegetable or forage crops. He stood lower in the social scale than the *Bauer*, and paid no land tax (*Contribution*). There were also half and quarter *Kossäthen*, etc. Knapp, I. 12.

sought to prevent increases of peasant obligations, but without uniform success. He must use the lord's mill, and, sometimes to the peasant's own moral and physical undoing, he must purchase a fixed quantum from the lord's brewery or distillery. The payment of the government land tax (*Contribution*), from which the lord was almost wholly exempt, fell upon peasant holdings alone, and meant five or six thalers annually out of a painfully limited income. Then, as a further service to the state, in addition to the labor for the lord, the peasant and his draft animals were subject to army transport duty or to furnish relays for the king on his journeys. The former task was burdensome during manoeuvres or actual war, and the latter subject to abuses when indifferent officials ordered relays days before the king arrived, and thus wasted the peasant's time.

The reference already made to the existence in the Mark, particularly, and in East Prussia of estates worked in part or even wholly by day-laborers does not prove that peasant conditions were improving on the private estates. On the contrary, the evidence seems clear that life and labor on such manors was an increasing burden since the close of the Seven Years' War. Agriculture was developing, and the beginnings of scientific agriculture under such men as Thaer and the high level of prices for grain in Prussia during the period of neutrality following 1795 were stimulants to the owners, whose land advanced in price between 1780 and 1800 from 100 to 140 per cent. over the prices prevailing in the Seven Years' War.²⁰ The picture of conditions on the private estates east of the Elbe is that of an advancing, increasingly profitable, large-scale, capitalistic agriculture with an economically and socially declining agricultural laboring class. The land-owning lord was more exacting, more ready to expel a peasant upon charges of negligence, more ready to transfer an efficient and prosperous peasant to a

²⁰ Böhme, *op. cit.*, quotes Krug as bearing testimony to the same thing, and says that the land after this advance was valued at about twenty-six to thirty thalers per *Culmischer Morgen*. As this land measure was about two and one-fourth times the size of the Prussian *Morgen* the price quoted would be that for about one and one-third acres. In 1804 Thaer purchased an estate in the Middle Mark on poor, sandy soil. He paid for 1044 Prussian *Morgen* and another and more fertile farm (acreage not given) what he considered was the high price of 70,000 thalers. Cf. T. von der Goltz, *Geschichte der Deutschen Landwirtschaft*, II. 15. There was a tremendous decline in prices, due to the devastations of the French, Russian, and Prussian armies in the years 1806-1815, and to the much increased burden of taxation. Wages fell to almost nothing, and many peasants and domestic and agricultural laborers were willing to work for food and shelter. It was requests for governmental aid to relieve this situation which led the Immediate Commission to take up the question of emancipation. Details and statistics on this agrarian crisis may be found in Böhme, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-68.

poorer holding which absorbed the peasant's savings and employed his energies in raising it to a higher level of production for the lord's profit. The marked effort to consolidate at least the strips owned by the lord had its darker side for such peasants as found themselves manoeuvred onto less fertile areas. Wherever the lord could reduce the number of peasant holdings and increase the amount of lands farmed to his account, it meant increased burdens of labor for the remaining peasantry and the keeping of more draft animals. This fact and the want of adequate pasturage even for the work-horses and oxen meant fewer sheep and cows than well-balanced agriculture made advisable. In the regions east of the Elbe the governmental restrictions of industry to the cities prevented those forms of domestic manufacture by which the Westphalian peasant supplemented his income.

Before considering the lord's obligations to the peasant, it is well to recall the noble landowner's dominant social and economic influence, his vital position in the politico-military structure of the Prussian state, his control of the surviving provincial assemblies, the fact that the nearest state official to whom the peasant could lift protesting hands was the *Landrat*, who was selected by the king from among the three nominees of the local nobles from their own class. These facts by their mere enumeration furnish additional material in the interpretation of any description of peasant conditions in Prussia before 1806. It is true that the lord had to fill out official forms and reports for the *Landrat*, but if these showed the same number of peasant holdings or explained changes in terms of the government regulation, the lord would be left unmolested within his gates. Here the keystone of his authority over his peasantry was the fact that east of the Elbe they were his subjects, and in all provinces must submit their grievances and petty suits to his courts. Justice administered either directly or indirectly by one who might be a party to the action was at least under the suspicion of having the bandage off one eye.

The lord was responsible for the well-being of his peasantry under this patrimonial system. He could not sell them apart from the land to which they were attached, under penalty of the peasant's emancipation. He could not expel them from a holding except for legally specified and legally proved reasons. He was forbidden to increase the obligations on any holding even when he transferred it to another peasant. Where the claim was hereditary, he was equally bound to observe the rights of the heir whom he might select as most capable of working the tract. The peasant could accumulate

private property and control this to his own advantage. The building and repair of the peasant cottages was at the lord's expense, and many and bitter are the complaints of the landowners at the negligence and indifference of the peasants who let houses decay and tore timbers and boards out of them rather than cut firewood and took no precautions against fire. The more ignorant and debased the peasantry, the more evident is their neglect and the resulting wretchedness of their hovels, and the greater the despair of the lord. If the peasant had bad harvests or lost his draft animals or wanted seed, the lord must come to his rescue. Firewood and building material and sometimes the more expensive tools were furnished by the lord. If the day-laborer or landholding peasant was in want, his food and means being frequently exhausted by the end of January, the lord must find him labor, give him food, or permit him to go where he could maintain himself. As the land-tax was collected by the government from the peasant landholding and not from the peasant as a person, the peasant's failure or inability to pay must be made good by the lord. These burdens were frequently a drain on the manor's income in bad years, and yet the necessity of the peasant furnished an opportunity, not unused, to subject him to harsher terms or more uncertain tenure. The support of the aged and homeless and all the care of the incapacitated, the task of the Church in the Middle Ages and of the state in our day, was an obligation upon the lord of the manor in the Prussia of the eighteenth century.

The method and spirit of discharging these obligations was a personal and varying factor that enabled the conservatives and opponents of reform to cite excellent cases of paternal interest and care over ignorant and thriftless and dependent peasants. In such cases, and there were undoubtedly many of them, the feudal patriarchal conscience and kindness of the noble casts a kindly light upon "the good old days". In individual cases peasants could and did accumulate considerable property, and yet the authenticated average net income of the peasants in Upper Silesia, one of the worst regions, was five thalers for the year's work, with twenty thalers as a maximum return, and clothing still to be bought from this. It is not surprising that there is much complaint of theft against domestic servants and that the barns and granaries on the manor were generally well watched, especially in winter.

The peasant class as a whole in Brandenburg-Prussia, especially east of the Elbe, before 1806 was by the preponderance of testimony, private and official, so near the margin that even under the

better conditions on the royal domain lands it was a source of wonder how they met their obligations and maintained themselves. "The evil", says Thaeer, writing in 1806, of the servile peasants of the Mark, "lies deep in the present system, under which the peasant becomes constantly poorer, lazier, and more stupid. This condition will soon become unbearable as a matter of general welfare. Our servile peasant is actually an unfortunate hybrid of a slave and a free man."²¹

It must in justice be said that the nobles were not the only ones who clung to the old order. The peasants were opposed to change and agricultural development, for new crops and new distributions were feared as occasions for increasing their burdens. To plow up the pasture or clear the woodland meant not only a loss to them of rights in the common land but more labor, even if the result was increased crops. The decrease of labor dues in favor of money dues brought them nearer the position of renters with no rights in the soil, and the lord nearer the position of an owner with complete command over his estates. Much as he felt the burden of his labor dues, the peasant did not welcome the substitution of rent payments.

The discussion so far has dealt with the peasants on private estates, where the noble was a petty potentate ruling over his bond peasantry. The peasantry on the royal domain land had obtained by 1806 an economic and social independence that put them far ahead of the private peasant. This activity of the absolute monarchy in behalf of the domain peasant deserves attention, for it was in itself a reform of such importance that it ranks with the Stein-Hardenberg legislation for which it was a preparation.

The Prussian domain lands were very extensive except in Silesia and Westphalia. They were leased for a period of years to non-noble²² lessees who worked them with peasant labor. But here the king's interest in the peasant class could be made more immediately effective. The agitation for the relief of the domain peasants began under Frederick I. in 1704. Frederick William I., his successor, fulminated in his usual tone against their miserable condition and denounced as "*elendes Raisonniren*" the defenses and explanations made by his fiscal officials. Despite the royal willingness to sacrifice financial advantages to the improvement of the domain peasants, the ruthless drill-sergeant king never successfully broke through the official indifference and opposition. Fred-

²¹ Quoted by Knapp, *Bauernbefreiung*, I. 75.

²² Lehmann, *Stein*, I. 88.

erick the Great was more successful. He effectively forbade the enforced domestic labor of minor children of the domain peasants in East and West Prussia and Lithuania. Four years after his death a decree in 1790 codified the rights he had established, and the domain peasants were made hereditary tenants of their holdings. By a series of acts between 1799 and 1806 under Frederick William III. the freedom of domain peasants was practically accomplished, and the dues of those holding land, especially in return for labor with horses, were redeemed by money payments. So willing was the government to cultivate initiative in the peasants and so anxious to rid itself of the costly obligation to support them by subventions and privileges in the woodlands and pasturage, that in Pomerania and Brandenburg freedom from service was made conditional on the reluctant domain peasant's taking over the ownership of his holding. The result of this legislation before 1806 left only the remnants of forced domestic service resting on domain peasants chiefly in Brandenburg and Pomerania, while the domain peasants outside these provinces still lacked the right of becoming peasant proprietors on easy terms. In Silesia, where for some obscure reason the domain reforms following 1799 had not been applied, the legislation of 1807-1808 first modified eighteenth-century conditions.

GUY STANTON FORD.

THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER IN QUEEN ANNE'S WAR

AT the close of the seventeenth century South Carolina constituted the sole southern frontier of the English colonies in America, against the Spanish, the French, and several important tribes of Indians. Though but newly established and still among the weakest of the English plantations, this colony had already given proof of unusual enterprise. Neglected by the proprietors, unsupported by the crown, the colonists, of their own initiative, had pushed the first frontier of the province (the frontier of the Indian trade and Indian alliances) further into the wilderness than English traders elsewhere had ventured. From the first settlement in 1670 the Carolinians had been engaged in conflicts with their neighbors, the Spaniards of Florida.¹ Before the end of the century, they were in contact and keen rivalry with the French in the region of the Gulf and the lower Mississippi. The obscure struggles of Indian traders and their savage partizans on the farthest frontier of the English colonies made but small stir in a world absorbed in the momentous issue of the Spanish Succession. A few men only, in the outposts of the rival empires, understood that these incidents foreshadowed a contest for the richest prize of imperial ambition in America: the heart of the continent. It was on the southern frontier, in the course of Queen Anne's War, that the conflict was first clearly joined for the control of the valley of the Mississippi.

The success of the Carolinians among the southern Indians was due to a number of factors, physical, economic, political. In the first place, the position of South Carolina was more favorable to the development of the western trade than that of any other of the English colonies, with the possible exception of New York. The Appalachian range, so long a barrier to the expansion of Virginia and Maryland and Pennsylvania, was easily avoided by all but the Cherokee traders. Yet in the matter of location Carolina was less fortunate than Florida and Louisiana. Whereas the Spanish could reach the Lower Creek towns by the Apalachicola River, and the French, once Mobile was established, had direct water communication with the Alabama, Talapoosa, and Abihka, the Carolina traders had to convey their goods on the backs of Indian burdeners or on

¹ *Collections of the South Carolina Historical Society*, V. 169, 179, 187, 197-200.

pack-horses by an overland path which intersected nearly all the important rivers of southeastern America.² But even the possession of water-routes, and the ability which the Latins everywhere displayed in Indian diplomacy, were more than offset by another factor of crucial importance, the superiority of the English trade.

In nearly all the articles of the Indian trade the goods which the English offered were more highly esteemed by the Indians, for quality and price, than the corresponding products of their rivals. The fundamental reason for the success of the English in the tortuous politics of the wilderness was concisely expressed by the first Indian agent of South Carolina. In 1708 Thomas Nairne asserted that "the English trade for cloath always attracts and maintains the obedience and friendship of the Indians, they Effect them most who sell best cheap".³

The South Carolina trade, moreover, was actively fostered by the provincial government. Indeed, the leaders in the government and in the trade were for the most part identical. Charges of unfair and monopolistic practices were freely made against the great traders who controlled the council and the assembly. But the frontier interests of men like Joseph Blake (deputy governor, 1695-1700) and James Moore (governor, 1700-1702) had a consequence for the colony unrecognized by their critics.⁴ At the end of the seventeenth century the Indian trade was weaving a web of alliances among tribes of Indians distant many hundred miles from Charles Town. Blake and his successor, active promoters of the trade, developed a conception of the destinies of the English in that quarter of America—an *imperial vision*—notably in advance of the parochial ideas of proprietors and provincials alike; in advance, too, of the notions of policy of the imperial government itself.

When Joseph Blake became deputy governor at the end of 1695, the Indian trade of South Carolina was just entering on a phase of more than local importance. A decade before this, in 1684, the revolt of the Yamasee against the Florida government and their emigration from the province of Guale to the borders of South Carolina had turned the scale against the Spaniards in the coastal

² *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, III. 9 and note.

³ Thomas Nairne [to the Secretary of State], July 10, 1708. Public Record Office, America and West Indies, vol. 620; now C. O. 5: 383. (Transcript, Historical Commission of South Carolina, Columbia, S. C.)

⁴ Typical charges in W. J. Rivers, *Sketch of the History of South Carolina to . . . 1719* (1856), pp. 424, 455-456. Cf. also Hewat, *Historical Account of . . . South Carolina and Georgia* (1779) in B. R. Carroll, *Historical Collections of South Carolina* (1836), I. 134; and complaints by Edward Randolph against Blake in *Prince Society Publications, Randolph Papers*, VII. 554, 557.

region.⁵ Already the expulsion of the Westo from the lower Savannah had cleared the way for trade expansion southwestward, among the inland tribes. Their route protected against flank attack from St. Augustine, the Charles Town traders made rapid progress among the populous Oconee, Ocheese (Kawita and Kasihta), and Ocmulgee Indians seated on the upper Oconee and above the forks of the Altamaha.⁶ With her expanding Indian relations South Carolina became the centre of the traffic in Indian slaves, as well as in deer-skins, among the English colonies. When the early wars had exhausted the supply near the settlements the friendly Indians were encouraged to range farther afield, especially to the south, where slave-catching raids had the additional advantage of weakening the allies of the Spaniards. Timucuan Indians from the interior of Florida had long been bought from the Yamasee;⁷ and now the inland Indians found ready sale for captured Apalachee, from the province of Apalachee, which fronted the Gulf between the Suwanee and Apalachicola rivers—the richest and, strategically, the most important of the outlying Spanish provinces. The raiders were supplied with arms, incited, and even led by the traders who lived among them; retaliatory expeditions were headed by Spanish officers.⁸

Thus on the eve of the War of the Spanish Succession the relations between the colonists of South Carolina and Florida, already disturbed by disputes over title of possession, buccaneering, and runaway slaves, were further embittered by the expansion of the South Carolina Indian system. By aggressive, belligerent methods even in time of peace the Carolina traders threatened the maintenance of Spanish authority everywhere beyond the protection of a few weak and isolated garrisons. Florida was endangered, and with Florida another colony which existed as yet only in the purposes of Iberville and the French ministers: Louisiana.

⁵ Barcia, *Ensayo Chronologico para la Historia de la Florida* (Madrid, 1723), p. 287. Cf. also J. G. Shea, *Catholic Church in Colonial Days* (1886), p. 178.

⁶ Later called by the English Creek, specifically, Lower Creek Indians. The name was derived by abbreviation, from Ocheese Creek Indians. Before 1715 the Kasihta and Kawita had their villages on Ocheese Creek, i. e., the Ocmulgee River above the approximate site of Macon, Ga. For evidence of this derivation see *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, V. 339. The Westo and their identity are discussed in *American Anthropologist*, n. s., XX. 331.

⁷ Barcia, *loc. cit.*; *Coll. S. C. Hist. Soc.*, I. 93; Rivers, *Sketch*, pp. 410, 425.

⁸ Archdale Papers, Library of Congress, pp. 19, 24, 41, 69, 97, 110, 116; W. E. Dunn, *Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Region of the United States, 1678-1702*, in *University of Texas Bulletin*, no. 1705, p. 71; Shea, *Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, p. 459.

Throughout the last decade of the century the centre of the Carolina trade had remained at the forks of the Altamaha.⁹ Several years before the century's close, however, the bolder traders had established their factories among the Alabama, Talapoosa, and Abihka, near the forks of the Alabama, and had laid in train an alliance with the Chickasaw, which, more than any other single factor, was destined to thwart the complete attainment of the French design in the lower Mississippi Valley. From the villages of the Choctaw, near the Tombigbee, and of the Acolapissa, at the mouth of the Pearl, to the country of the Arkansas, west of the great river, and even as far as the Illinois, the Chickasaw, now that they were supplied with arms by the English, who bought their captives as slaves, became the scourge of the defenseless western tribes.¹⁰ The Chickasaw traders, of whom the chief were Thomas Welch and Anthony Dodsworth, sought also to extend their trade among the adjacent Indians. The most notable exploit in the early history of the western trade was the journey of Welch, in 1698, from Charles Town to the Quapaw village at the mouth of the Arkansas.¹¹ Within three decades from the planting of the colony—in a little more than fifteen years from the beginning of the western advance—the Carolinians had reached and even passed the Mississippi in their trading journeys.

This achievement, without parallel in the English colonies, and rivalled only by the feats of the Canadian *coureurs de bois*, had been watched with close interest by the South Carolina government. It might have passed unnoted outside of the province, however, but for the emergence, as an international issue, of the question of the Mississippi.

To England and the English colonies rumors were borne in 1698 of the French design to discover and settle the mouth of the Mississippi. Among the counter-measures proposed, the unsuc-

⁹ Under Henry Woodward, Shaftesbury's agent in the Indian trade, the vanguard of the Carolinians had crossed the Chattahoochee (ca. 1684). This was the last instance of direct encouragement of inland exploration by the proprietors. With the passing of the proprietary monopoly of the trade with the distant Indians (undermined by the Westo war, 1681-1682), their interest in frontier policy ceased. Public Record Office, Colonial Entry Books, XX. (now C. O. 5: 286) 207 (transcript, Columbia, S. C.); Rivers, *Sketch*, p. 313; *Coll. S. C. Hist. Soc.*, I. 88; V. *passim*. Compare Dunn, *Spanish and French Rivalry*, p. 71.

¹⁰ Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'Amérique Septentrionale*, IV. 362, 372, 398, 516 et seq.

¹¹ Mitchell, *Map of North America* (1755), from an anon. map ca. 1720 (based on journals of Indian agents, etc.) of which a tracing exists in the collection of the South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, S. C.

cessful attempt of Daniel Coxe, claimant of "Carolana" under the Heath patent, to plant an English colony to control the river, served only to hasten the French preparations.¹² Another project, put forward by Lord Bellomont of New York and Governor Nicholson of Virginia, had in view the promotion of trade with the trans-Appalachian Indians. Unfortunately Bellomont's scheme for a conference of colonial governors for co-operation in Indian affairs and western policy, which was sanctioned by the Board of Trade, also miscarried.¹³ But as a result of the discussion it was becoming clearer that if the French were to be prevented from linking their settlements in Canada with the Gulf, trade with the distant Indians must be encouraged; and secondly, that the position of South Carolina gave that colony a unique advantage as a base for western expansion.¹⁴

The alarm occasioned in the northern colonies and in England by Iberville's enterprise was even keener in South Carolina, which had thereby become a frontier against the French as well as the Spanish and the Indians, and where the knowledge of a relatively easy communication with the Gulf and the lower Mississippi awakened fears of a speedy conquest by the French, or by the French and the Spaniards combined. The more timid settlers talked of removal to a safer region should the death of Charles II. unite the two crowns.¹⁵ Not till the spring of 1700 was it definitely known by the report of the traders that the French were in possession of the coveted region.¹⁶ In the meantime Blake, who had

¹² Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements*, IV. 58, 88, 361.

¹³ Virginia Council Minutes, 1698-1700, Library of Congress, February 23, June 22, 1699; *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies*, 1693-1696, p. 512; 1699, pp. 50, 320; 1700, p. 311 et seq.; *Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, IV. 590, 632, 699-700; *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, I. 542; *Maryland Archives*, XXIII. 501.

¹⁴ A vague appreciation of the imperial possibilities of the Carolina Indian system led the Board of Trade, in December, 1699, to summon a certain James Boyd, lately arrived in England, to advise them on "the expediency of promoting a new Trade with some Indians at the Back of Carolina". Boyd was able to inform their lordships that "the English Indian traders inhabiting there had made many Journeys through the Country westward to above 1000 or 1200 miles distance". Board of Trade Journals (transcripts in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia), under dates December 8, 12, 1699.

¹⁵ Board of Trade Papers, Proprieties, III. (now C. O. 5: 1258) c: 22 (Pennsylvania transcripts). In November, 1698, when Iberville's fleet was not a month out of Brest, the Commons House formally requested Governor Blake to determine whether the French were settled on the Mississippi and, if they were, to consider the best way to remove them. Journals of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina, Columbia, S. C., under date November 16, 1698.

¹⁶ *Cal. of State Papers, A. and W. I.*, 1700, pp. 326-327; 1701, p. 408.

warned an officer sent from St. Augustine that he intended to make good the English title to Pensacola Bay, occupied by the Spanish in November, 1698,¹⁷ had also despatched a group of traders by way of the Cherokee country and the Tennessee River to lay claim to the Mississippi and to challenge the French control.¹⁸ Confident that the influence which he had won among the southwestern tribes must prevail, he only awaited information from his agents before transmitting to the English government definite proposals for displacing the French. His death in 1700 interrupted these activities. As deputy governor and at the same time magnate of the Indian trade he had "ingeniously laid" the design for "the Enlargement of the Dominion of the Crown of England" in accordance with the inclusive terms of the proprietary charter.¹⁹ It was left to his successor, James Moore, an adventurous explorer and trader, to formulate a scheme for the conquest of the region of the Gulf and the lower Mississippi.

By 1700 the extent and the character of the English interest among the western Indians were well understood by the French. Iberville, who had anticipated English opposition, but had not foreseen the direction of the attack, was impressed with the need of devising a comprehensive programme of resistance. In his first measures, however, he underrated the difficulties. A plan for the forcible expulsion of the English traders from among the Chickasaw soon proved impossible of execution.²⁰ The attempt of Iberville and the French ministry to persuade the Spaniards, now ruled by a Bourbon, that only the cession of Pensacola to France could check the advance of the Carolinians toward the mine-country, failed to overcome the jealous regard of government and people for the integrity of their colonial empire.²¹ In default of Pensacola, Mobile was established, avowedly as a point of support for the Indians allied with the French and the Spanish.²² The central object of Iberville's frontier policy was the promotion of a general peace among the southern Indians, based on friendship and trade with the French. Negotiations with the Chickasaw, begun by Tonti in 1700, were brought to a head only after two years. Meantime

¹⁷ Dunn, *Spanish and French Rivalry*, pp. 197-198.

¹⁸ *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, III. 12, 13.

¹⁹ John Archdale, *Description of Carolina* (1707), in Carroll, *Collections*, II. 118-119.

²⁰ Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements*, IV. 406, 418.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 476, 484, 489-490, 543-575. Cf. also Dunn, *Spanish and French Rivalry*, pp. 206-215.

²² Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements*, IV. 578-579.

there had occurred a crucial event in the frontier history of Louisiana: the conclusion of an alliance with the Choctaw.²³ The traditional enmity between the Choctaw, the most numerous nation of southwestern Indians, and the Chickasaw, the most aggressive, which was the *raison d'être* of the alliance, proved in the event to be fatal to the success of Iberville's programme of pacification. In 1702, however, at a great council at Mobile, the Choctaw and the Chickasaw were reconciled, and were promised an ample trade from a factory to be planted in their midst. Shortly the truce was extended to include other tribes, notably the Illinois and the Alabama.²⁴

Iberville's policy was not purely defensive. It looked beyond the immediate security of Louisiana to the expansion of the French interest among the Indians "au côté du Caroline", and to co-operation with the Spanish of Florida to strike at the flank of the English advance. A grandiose scheme for the rearrangement of the southern Indians, including the Cherokee, so as to expose the southern frontier of the English colonies, was distinctly impracticable. Something, however, was actually accomplished toward co-ordinating French and Spanish policy. In January, 1702, Iberville strongly advised that the Apalachee Indians be engaged to oppose by force the progress of the English and their allies. His counsel was accepted, and as an earnest of a more aggressive strategy, an expedition of several hundred Indians and Spaniards was prepared to go against the English Indians in August. But the latter had warning of the intended attack; headed by their traders they advanced to the Flint River and routed the invaders.²⁵

More was involved in this frontier skirmish—the prelude to Queen Anne's War on the southern frontier—than in the familiar quarrels between the Carolinians and the Spanish of Florida. In effect it was the first blow struck by the English for the control of the Mississippi Valley. There was no doubt in the mind of Governor James Moore that the unity of policy which Iberville sought to attain was a fact to be reckoned with in the English programme.

In August, 1702, before the expected news of a declaration of war had reached Carolina, Governor Moore in an address to the Commons House of Assembly urged "the takeing of St. Augustin before it be strengthened with French forces". He added: "This

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 427, 429, 460; B. de La Harpe, *Journal Historique de l'Établissement des Français à la Louisiane* (Paris, 1831), p. 35, under date September 16, 1701.

²⁴ La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, mars 1702, 12 mai 1702, pp. 71, 72; Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements*, IV. 507, 516–521, 531–532, 630.

²⁵ Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements*, IV. 379, 594–595, 630; Carroll, *Collections*, II. 351. Anon. map ca. 1720 (*supra*, note 11) shows location of the battle.

wee believe will open to us an easie and plaine way to Remove the French (a no less dangerous Enemy in time of peace then warr) from their settlement on the south (*sic*) side of the Bay of Appalattia."²⁶ A hastily planned expedition was launched against St. Augustine in the fall. The town was soon reduced, but for lack of mortars the siege of the castle was prolonged until relief arrived from Havana.²⁷ In spite of the burden of debt imposed upon the province by the unsuccessful campaign of 1702, tentative plans were laid for a second expedition in co-operation with Her Majesty's naval forces. In a letter to Admiral Whetstone of January 28, 1703, the governor and assembly outlined the larger objects of their strategy.

If it Pleaseth God to Give us Success, it is a Matter of that Great Consequence that if to that Wee ad the conquest of a small Spanish Town called Pancicola, and a new french Collony. . . . Both, Sea Port Towns . . . It will make her Majestie Absolute and Soveraigne Lady of all the Maine as farr as the River Mischisipi, which if effected the Colony of Carolina will be of the Greatest Vallue to the Crown of England of any of her Majesties Plantations on the Maine except Virginia by ading a Great Revenue to the Crown, for one halfe of all the Canadian Trade for furs and Skinns must necessarily come this way, besides a vast Trade of furs and Skinns—extended as far as the above mentioned River, Mischisipi, which is now interrupted by those Two little Towns.²⁸

Five months later Colonel Robert Quarry, a colonial customs official with pronounced imperial ideas, whose former residence in South Carolina had familiarized him with the problems of the southern frontier, wrote from New York to the Board of Trade emphasizing in similar fashion the relation of the Florida campaign to the larger question of continental dominion.²⁹

²⁶ Commons House Journals, August 20, 1702.

²⁷ For a narrative see Rivers, *Sketch*, p. 197 *et seq.* Condemned by the enemies of Moore in South Carolina as a free-booting raid (John Ash, *The Present State of Affairs in Carolina* [1706?], pamphlet in Force collection, Library of Congress; repr. Salley, *Narratives of Early Carolina*, p. 272), and as a slave-taking expedition (Colleton County Representation, in Rivers, *Sketch*, p. 456), and by the historians of Spanish Florida as a "mark of English provincial hatred against the Church of God" (*vide* Shea, *Catholic Church in Col. Days*, pp. 459-461), the St. Augustine expedition of 1702 has not been placed in its true setting as one of the first stages in the intercolonial contest for the control of the region of the Gulf and the Mississippi.

²⁸ Commons House Jour., January 28, 1703.

²⁹ The reduction of Florida would, he believed, "put a stop to the French designs who are endeavouring from Canada, to secure the Inland parts of the whole Maine . . . by our securing the Southern Parts, we shall prevent them, and break all their measures by securing the Indians to the Interest of England, which will be easily effected, since they must depend upon us for the supply of Indian Trade." *Docs. rel. to the Col. Hist. of N. Y.*, IV. 1048.

Quary and Moore saw farther into the future of the inter-colonial conflict than most of their contemporaries. Moore had been discredited by the St. Augustine fiasco; he was succeeded by a capable but unimaginative soldier, without the keen interest of the recent governors in frontier policy. At the beginning of his government, however, Sir Nathaniel Johnson gave his sanction to a blow at the Spanish interest which reaped a larger measure of success than any other military enterprise of the war, and which was definitely directed against Louisiana as well as Florida: the Apalachee expedition of 1704.

In 1702 and 1703 the progress which the French were making among the Alabama and Talapoosa, and more especially the potential danger to the "Coweta" (Kawita) and Yamasee, revealed by the abortive Spanish-Apalachee attack of 1702, awakened anxiety among the Carolinians for the stability of their Indian system. A general movement northward of the tribes which composed the bulwark of the province seemed imminent. Measures to protect these Indians and to confirm them in the places in which they lived repeatedly engaged the attention of the government. It was at length determined, at the solicitation of the assembly, to despatch a force of a thousand friendly Indians and fifty whites under the recent governor, James Moore, to assist the Kawita by attacking the Spanish frontier province of Apalache.³⁰ On January 14, 1704, Moore successfully stormed the first and strongest fort, at Ayubale. The invaders then captured one post after another until the rich province with its flourishing missions was almost completely ravaged and subdued. Besides many Indians killed in battle, or carried away as slaves, three hundred men and a thousand women and children who had submitted were persuaded to remove to the neighborhood of Savannah Town to strengthen the immediate frontier of South Carolina. By this energetic proceeding Moore destroyed the chief weapon upon which the Spanish and French had relied for offensive action against Carolina, before it could be made really effective. "Before this Expedition", Moore informed the proprietors, "we were more afraid of the Spaniards of Apalatchee and their Indians in Conjunction with the French of Mississippi, and their Indians doing us Harm by Land, than of any Forces of the Enemy by Sea. This has wholly disabled them from attempting anything against Us by Land".³¹

³⁰ Commons House Jour., January 14, 1702; January 15, 16, 19, 20; February 3; September 2, 3, 6, 7, 15, 17, 1703.

³¹ "Extracts of Colo. Moore's Letter to the Lords Proprietors, 16 April 1704", in Transcripts of Correspondence with Spanish Authorities, America, British

The immediate consequence of the new security against inland assault was an increased activity of the Carolinians on the Louisiana frontier. Already the Charles Town traders, with the aid of Moore's government, had undermined the weakest support of Iberville's structure of alliances, the friendly understanding with the Alabama Indians. It had early been recognized by the English that the amity of the tribes seated at the forks of the Alabama was essential to the western expansion of their trade; and between 1701 and 1703 efforts had been put forth to counteract the advantage enjoyed by the French in their control of the water-routes. An effect had soon been produced. In May, 1703, the French traders had been waylaid and murdered by the Alabama.³² The hostilities thus begun continued nine years. Punitive expeditions from Mobile accomplished little; somewhat more effective were the attacks of the French Indians spurred on by liberal offers of reward for scalps and captives.³³ Meanwhile the Alabama war greatly facilitated the work of the South Carolina traders, who, on the farthest frontier of the English colonies, advanced hand in hand their own profit and the political interests of their province.

From 1703 to 1715 the French policy was of necessity largely defensive. That this policy was successful in its main object, though not in detail—that the new establishment was enabled to survive the assaults of the Carolinians and their allies—was due primarily to the adroit Indian management of Iberville's brother and successor, Bienville. Through French youths whom he sent to live among the Indians behind Mobile, Bienville kept in touch with the rapidly shifting currents of Indian politics. By flattery, by "caresses", he made good in part the meagreness of French presents and the insufficiency of the French trade.³⁴ Yet from time to time Bienville's

Colonies, Library of Congress, VI. 888 *et seq.*; Moore to Sir Nathaniel Johnson, of same date, *ibid.*, p. 892, also printed in *Boston News-Letter*, April 24–May 1, 1704 (*Historical Digest of the Provincial Press, Massachusetts series*, I. 64–66). Cf. also Robert Quarry to Board of Trade, May 30, 1704, in *Cal. of State Pap., A. and W. I.*, 1704–1705, p. 145. Compare with the account, based on Spanish sources, in Shea, *Catholic Church in Col. Days*, pp. 461–463.

³² Commons House Jour., August 15, 29, 1701; January 14, 20, 1702; February 3, and April 17, 1703; La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, 3, 24 mai 1703, pp. 77, 79.

³³ La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, 22 décembre 1703, 18 novembre 1704, 21 janvier 1706, 21 février 1706, novembre 1707, pp. 82, 86, 95, 96, 103, 104. Pénicaut, Relation, in Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements*, V. 429–432, 435, 483.

³⁴ For an appreciation of Bienville's ability as an Indian diplomat see *Mémoire de Duclos*, 25 octobre 1713, in Archives Nationales, Colonies, C¹³ A 3, p. 265 *et seq.* References here and throughout are to Louisiana transcripts, Library of Congress. Cf. also Gravier [to Pontchartrain] [1706], Arch. Nat., Col., C¹³ A 1, p. 575.

skill was severely tested. The poverty of the colony played directly into the hands of its enemies. Funds set aside for Indian presents and trade had to be used for the maintenance of the garrisons. The building of the post promised to the Chickasaw in 1702, and impatiently demanded by the Indians, was postponed. In this juncture the English, by cultivating the Chickasaw seated among the upper Creeks, and by liberal presents to their kinsmen, were imperilling the central object of the French policy, the pacification of the southwestern tribes. In 1705 hostilities occurred between the Chickasaw and the Choctaw, and in 1706 the patched-up truce was definitely broken.³⁵ Though the French for a number of years retained a party among the Chickasaw, the English re-established their control over the majority of the nation. The Chickasaw and their neighbors the Yazoo were added to the Talapoosa, the Alabama, and the other tribes which the English had been using with disastrous effect in their assaults upon the allies of the French. In the autumn of 1705, for instance, the Choctaw had been raided by three or four thousand Carolina Indians, headed by several Englishmen, their villages and fields ravaged, and many prisoners carried away. Among the weaker tribes a veritable reign of terror was now instituted. The Tohome and Mobilians north of Mobile were exposed to constant attack. In 1706 the Taensa and Tunica were compelled to remove nearer the mouth of the Mississippi.³⁶ A climax in the English offensive was reached in 1707-1708 when Pensacola town was burned, and an elaborate intrigue was set in motion for the destruction of Mobile and Louisiana.

The reduction of the Florida Indians after the Apalachee expedition had been even more thorough than the harrying of the allies of the French. The remnants of the Apalachee, with the Tawasa and the Chatta, were forced by the Creeks to flee to the protection of Mobile. In peninsular Florida only the walls of St. Augustine furnished security against the attacks of the English and their Indians.³⁷ These now made so bold as to press their slave-catching raids as far into the interior as the "broken land" of the Ever-

³⁵ Arch. Nat., Col., C13 A 1, pp. 387-396, 523, 575; A 2, p. 574; La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, 8 octobre 1704, 1 février 1705, 10 avril 1705, 9 décembre 1705, 5 mars 1706, pp. 85, 89, 91, 96; Commons House Jour., February 3, 1703.

³⁶ Arch. Nat., Col., C13 A 1, p. 309; A 2, pp. 95, 396, 407. La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, janvier 1706, 25 août 1706, 20 octobre 1706, pp. 95, 97-98, 100-101; Pénicaut, Relation, in Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements*, V. 483.

³⁷ La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, 22 juillet 1704, p. 84; Pénicaut, Relation, in Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements*, V. 457, 460, 486. [Nairne?], *Letter from South Carolina* (London, 1710), p. 33; Mitchell, *Map of North America* (1755): "Timooquas destroy'd by the Carolinians in 1706".

glades.³⁸ Close to the Louisiana frontier the isolated outpost of Pensacola invited attack. In the summer of 1707 Pensacola town was destroyed in a surprise assault by a body of Talapoosa under English leaders, and the fort itself just escaped capture. In November Pensacola was again invested, but the siege was raised when Bienville, with characteristic promptness, headed a party of French and Indians for its relief.³⁹

In 1707 the Carolinians were aiming at a more difficult prize than Pensacola, and one more essential to their ultimate object—at Mobile, the key to the control of the eastern Gulf region and the lower Mississippi. The programme adopted by the assembly was conceived by Thomas Welch, the veteran Chickasaw trader, and by Thomas Nairne, the first official Indian agent of the province.⁴⁰ In the autumn of 1707 both Nairne and Welch urged that an attempt be made to win over the French Indians, particularly the Choctaw, as a preliminary to an attack on Mobile.⁴¹ In the assembly the proposal found support as the most practicable method to remove the French, an object regarded as “of absolute necessity”, especially since the Spanish-French sea-attack on Charles Town in 1706. Plans for an expedition to fall upon the French from the Talapoosa were made contingent upon the success of Nairne and Welch in seducing the western Indians.⁴² In the spring Nairne “ventured his life and made a peace with the Choctaws”; while Welch summoned a council at the Yazoo of the chief river tribes—Arkansas, Tourima, Taensa, Natchez, and Koroa—with similar results. Unfortunately for the larger English design, their further proposals for

³⁸ Moll, *New Map of the North Parts of America* (1720) shows the route of “an Expedition in Florida Neck, by Thirty-three Iamesee Indians Accompany'd by Capt. T. Nairn” which may have reached Lake Okechobee. Cf. also Nairne, *doc. cit. supra*, note 3.

³⁹ Arch. Nat., Col., C¹³ A 2, pp. 95–99; La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, 25 août 1707, 16, 24 novembre 1707, pp. 103–104.

⁴⁰ When, after long agitation, an act was finally passed, in 1707, to regulate the abuses of the Indian trade (*Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, ed. Cooper, II. 309), the agent chosen by the assembly to control the traders and to negotiate with the Indians was a gentleman from Colleton County, on the southern border of the province, whose frontier interests, stimulated by service in the Florida campaigns, and by long experience among the Yamasee, qualified him, in peculiar degree, to continue the work of Blake and Moore. He was a leader of the popular party in the assembly in the controversy with the governor over the appointment of the public receiver (1707), and in the parallel struggle for a regulation of the Indian trade under exclusive control of the assembly through its commissioners; probably the author of the Indian act of 1707. Commons House Jour., 1702–1707 *passim*.

⁴¹ Commons House Jour., October 23, 28, November 1, 22, 1707.

⁴² *Ibid.*, November 8, 20, 1707. Nairne, *doc. cit.*

(1) assistance or neutrality in an attack on Mobile, and (2) the removal of the tribes which formed the bulwark of the French colony to the Tennessee river, in order to divert the fur-trade of the upper Mississippi to Carolina, were rejected. This partial failure of the English diplomacy (a failure which precluded an assault on Mobile) was mainly due to the energy and adroitness of Bienville, who had taken prompt measures to counteract the influence on the western Indians of English presents and arguments.⁴³

After this defeat Nairne set to work to create the necessary condition for the success of future efforts to extend "the English American empire" in the southwest—the education of the English colonial authorities in the strategy of the southern frontier. Hitherto the home government was not only without a policy for the southern frontier, but without the data upon which to construct a policy. In 1708, in a notable memorial which he accompanied by a map of the country from Virginia to the mouth of the Mississippi,⁴⁴ Nairne urged that in the expected treaty of peace due weight be given to the western claims of Carolina, based upon her ancient trade with the Indians behind Mobile. The advantages to be expected from planting a new English colony in the south or southwest he discussed in the spacious tone of a frontiersman who had "had a personall view of most of those parts". His most practical counsel was to the effect that the French design in the west could be checked "only by trading and other management"; and "that this province being a frontier, both against the French and Span'd, ought not to be Neglected".

It was not until a destructive Indian war had imperilled the results of three decades of expansion, that Nairne's arguments, repeated by others, won the ear of the home government. In the meantime Nairne, a dissenter, whose administration of the Indian act had brought him into conflict with Sir Nathaniel Johnson, had been disgraced and driven from office by the governor and the Church party.⁴⁵ For several years thereafter the frontier policy of the provincial government lacked the aggressive and imaginative qualities which Nairne, like Blake and Moore before him, had imparted to it. Under the combined strain of maladroit management,

⁴³ Nairne, *doc. cit.*; Arch. Nat., Col., C13 A 2, p. 168 *et seq.*, 177, 328–329, 341–348; P. de Charlevoix, *Histoire et Description Générale de la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1744), IV. 41–42.

⁴⁴ Nairne, *doc. cit.*; Crisp, *Map of South Carolina* [1711?], Library of Congress, has an inset based upon Nairne's 1708 map.

⁴⁵ Commons House Jour., November, December, 1708 *et passim*. Cf. also *Coll. S. C. Hist. Soc.*, I. 202.

the licentious conduct of the traders, and the skillful diplomacy of Bienville, the South Carolina Indian system was beginning to show ominous signs of weakness. The first break occurred in 1712, when the French succeeded in making peace with the Alabama Indians.⁴⁶ But the Carolinians, alarmed by the "aparant danger . . . from the conjunction of . . . the Choctaws and Chickisaws",⁴⁷ had already resumed their western offensive. Although the province was engaged at the time in helping to suppress the troublesome Tuscarora rising in North Carolina, energy remained for an effective prosecution of the Indian trade and for a vigorous renewal of the partizan warfare which was the characteristic method of the Carolinian advance. With the reopening of the Choctaw-Chickasaw feud in 1711, the assembly equipped an expedition of thirteen hundred Creek Indians, under Captain Theophilus Hastings, which marched through the Choctaw country, burning, killing, taking prisoners. A smaller force of Chickasaw, under Welch, joined this assault on their old enemies, now the main support of the French colony.⁴⁸ The year was one of achievement for the frontier forces of Carolina. John Barnwell, reporting the success of his North Carolina expedition, in February, 1712, congratulated Governor Craven on the "hon'r and Glory of virtuous South Carolina whose armies are the same winter gathering Laurels from the Cape Florida and from the Bay of Spiritta Sancta even to the Borders of Virginia".⁴⁹

The hope voiced by Nairne in 1708 that in the terms of peace "the English American empire" in the southwest might "not be unreasonably Cramp't up" was not disappointed in 1713. To be sure, the southern frontier was not specifically mentioned in the treaties of Utrecht; but the lack of defined boundaries made it possible for the English colonists to continue to assert their old inclusive claims, based on the charter and on the Indian trade. The French, at all events, found the Carolinians quite as uncomfortable neighbors in peace as in war. In vain La Mothe Cadillac invited Governor Craven to co-operate in establishing a general peace among the southern Indians, English and French alike; to withdraw his traders from the nations which had traded first with the French; and to comply with the spirit of the peace by preventing

⁴⁶ Arch. Nat., Col., C13 A 2, p. 376; La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, mars 1712, p. 110; Indian Commissioners' Journals (MSS., Columbia, S. C.), July 9, 1712. Nairne charged that the mismanagement of his successor was "the true cause of the Alhamas deserting to Mobile". *Ibid.*, August 18, 1713.

⁴⁷ Commons House Jour., June 21, 1711.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, June 21, 22, 1711; May 24, 1712.

⁴⁹ *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, IX. 36.

those traders from instigating slave-catching raids among the French allies.⁵⁰ After 1713 there was no longer question of an attack on Mobile, but in the field of Indian politics and in partizan warfare the two years ending in 1715 marked the climax of the first English effort to displace the French in the Mississippi Valley.

Nairne had been restored to the principal Indian agency in 1712, and had promptly won the praise of the Indian commissioners for "capacity and diligence" displayed in negotiations with the western Indians. In 1713 he sent goods among the Choctaw, seeking to renew the relations he had established in 1707 with this all-important tribe.⁵¹ It was another than Nairne, however, who was made active director of the new enterprise for the conversion of all the southern Indians to the English trade and alliance. This semi-official Indian diplomat was a certain Price Hughes, Esq., "an English Gent., who had a particular fancy of rambling among the Indians"—such was the character given him by Spotswood of Virginia. By testimony of Cadillac, "il etoit ingénieur, et géographe"; and, moreover, "homme d'esprit".⁵² In 1713 and 1714-1715 he was encouraged by the provincial government to undertake highly important missions among the western tribes. His commission from Governor Craven set forth the sweeping claims of Blake and Moore and Nairne to the Mississippi, and to the country westward as far as the Spanish settlements. As a result of his efforts, in co-operation with the traders, new factories were established; a firmer league was formed with the Chickasaw; and even the Choctaw (with the exception of two loyal villages which fled to Mobile) were persuaded to desert the French alliance. Of the Mississippi River Indians, the Yazoo had long inclined toward the English; and now the Natchez as well admitted Carolina traders to their villages, and joined in raids on the weaker tribes down-stream. While the Cherokee were endeavoring to convert the Illinois to the English trade, Hughes and the Carolinians on the Mississippi were intriguing with the French *voyageurs* to the same purpose. Had Hughes succeeded in his further measures, there was a real prospect that the highway of trade and communication between Canada and Louisiana would be closed. The French authorities were informed that this enterprising "mylord Anglais" planned to visit the tribes of the Red River, and then to descend to the mouth of the

⁵⁰ Arch. Nat., Col., C13 A 3, pp. 489-492, 530.

⁵¹ Indian Comm. Jour., June 10, 1712, July 17, 1713; Commons House Jour., November 27, 1712, December 18, 1713.

⁵² *Virginia Historical Society Collections, Spotswood Letters* (1882), II. 331; Arch. Nat., Col., C13 A 4, pp. 521-522.

Mississippi, hoping to win, by presents and trade (the potent instruments of English expansion), the friendship of the Huma, the Bayougoula, the Chawasha, and the Acolapissa.⁵³

At precisely that juncture, in 1715, when the Carolina Indian system had reached its farthest extension, the ambitious structure of alliances suddenly crumbled; and in the crash which followed the province itself narrowly escaped destruction. The arrest of Hughes at Manchac by the French, his release, and his murder in the woods between Pensacola and the upper Creek country,⁵⁴ occurred simultaneously with the outbreak of the Yamasee-Creek rising—one of the most dangerous Indian attacks sustained by any of the English colonies. The Carolinians naturally saw a connection between the collapse of their western project (precipitated by the watchful activity of Bienville) and the greater calamity which spread massacre and destruction from the plantations on the Stono and the Santee to the trading factories among the distant Chickasaw; they believed that the French and the Spaniards were the instigators of the Indian war.⁵⁵ In reality the disaster was largely, if not solely, due to the long accumulating evils of an ill-regulated Indian trade.⁵⁶ But the Spanish and the French were not slow to take advantage of their neighbors' extremity. When, after two anxious years, the attacks on the settlements had been suppressed, the wavering Cherokee secured in their allegiance, communication reopened with the loyal Chickasaw, and an uncertain peace concluded with the Creeks, the situation on the southern frontier had been seriously altered in a sense unfavorable to English ambitions.

⁵³ Indian Comm. Jour., August 19, November 18, 30, 1713; Commons House Jour., June 4, 7, 8, 12, December 16, 1714; Arch. Nat., Col., C¹³ A 3, pp. 491-492, 518-522, 827-828; A 4, pp. 237, 522; Bibl. Nat., MSS. Fr., Nouv. Acquis., vol. 9301, f. 300-300 vo.; La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, avril 1714, 1715, pp. 115, 117 *passim*; Richebourg, *Mémoire*, in B. F. French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, III. 241; Pénicaud, *Relation*, in Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements*, V. 507, 519; *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVI. 303, 318-319; anon. map ca. 1720, *supra*, note 11.

⁵⁴ Arch. Nat., Col., C¹³ A 3, pp. 827-832; Arch. Nat., Marine, B¹, vol. IX., pp. 271-272.

⁵⁵ Bd. of Trade Jour., July 16, 1715; Bd. of Trade Pap., Proprieties, X. (now C. O. 5: 1265), Q: 72, Q: 95, Q: 97.

⁵⁶ The Indian Comm. Jour. were filled with complaints of the conduct of the traders in abusing and cheating the Indians. Trading without license, enslaving free Indians, sale of rum, sale of goods on credit, were practices which the commissioners and agents sought vainly to reform, and which contributed to the revolt. Cf. preamble to Indian act of March 20, 1719, in *Stat. at Large of S. C.* II. 91; "History of the Dividing Line", *Writings of Col. William Byrd* (New York, 1901), ed. J. S. Bassett, p. 239; Bd. of Trade Pap., Proprieties, X. (C. O. 5: 1265), Q: 51.

With the desertion of the Yamasee to Florida, and the removal of the lower Creeks from the upper waters of the Altamaha to the Chattahoochee, the Spaniards, from negligible rivals, had become formidable contenders for the alliance of the Creek Indians. The French, moreover, had recovered their control of the Mississippi River tribes, and by planting Alabama Fort (Fort Toulouse) at the forks of the Alabama River, had secured the most valuable strategic position in the southern Indian country.

In one important respect, however, the position of South Carolina as the southern frontier of the English colonies was markedly improved as a result of the Indian war. The English colonial authorities had at length been forced to recognize the existence of an imperial problem in that quarter of America with which the proprietary government had been unable to cope. By slow degrees, as control of the province passed to the crown, the point of view developed by Blake and Moore and Nairne, and now set forth by the Carolina agents—that South Carolina was “a Barrier and might be made a Bulwark to all his Majesties Colonys on the South West part of the Continent”⁵⁷—was impressed upon the Board of Trade and the Privy Council. The first concrete result of outstanding importance—the culmination of a series of efforts to strengthen the southern frontier against the French as well as the Spanish—was the establishment of the march colony of Georgia.

By 1733 it had become axiomatic that the crux of the inter-colonial contest in America was the control of the Mississippi Valley, a theorem first demonstrated on the southern frontier in Queen Anne's War.

VERNER W. CRANE

⁵⁷ Boone and Berrisford, “Memorial to the Board of Trade on the importance of securing Carolina” (read June 23, 1716). Bd. of Trade Pap., Proprieties, X. (C. O. 5: 1265), Q: 76.

DIVERGING TENDENCIES IN NEW YORK DEMOCRACY IN THE PERIOD OF THE LOCOFOCOS¹

DIFFERING conceptions of democracy were expressed in two speeches which were made in the Congress of the United States in 1836 by Democratic members of the delegation from New York. The one was by Mr. Ely Moore, Tammany representative of the labor element in the city of New York.² The occasion of his speech arose in a debate over a "preparedness" measure for governmental manufacture of munitions, in the course of which Mr. Thompson of South Carolina asserted that working-men of the North might "rob by lawless insurrection, or by the equally terrible process of the ballot box". Moore, replying, observed that Thompson's assertion was based finally upon the theory of government by a minority. He deprecated raising the caste question, yet thought that raising it might "serve to establish more distinctly, and more permanently, the landmarks which distinguish the two great political parties of this country—the democracy and the aristocracy". "The line which separates the friends and enemies of equal rights", he continued, "is broad and distinct", and these classes are "utterly and eternally incompatible and antagonistical".

The people [whom he identified with the laboring classes] are neither so unwise nor so unreasonable as to either expect or desire a perfect equality of wealth. . . . The people, the democracy, contend for no measure that does not hold out to individual enterprise proper motives for exertion. All they ask is that the great principle upon which the Government is founded, the principle of equal rights, should be faithfully observed and carried out, to the exclusion of all exclusive privileges.

¹ This article is collated from a more extensive study, now in manuscript, on the history of the Locofoco party. The latter had its inception a number of years ago in a seminar of Professor Frederick J. Turner, who has continued to evince helpful interest.

² Moore, a native of New Jersey and a printer by trade, had been the first president of the New York General Trades' Union and also of the National Trades' Union. *Biographical Congressional Directory*, p. 701; Commons *et al.*, *Documentary History of American Industrial Society* (1910), V. 204. He was impressive in person and had oratorical power. John Quincy Adams in a vivid, though not wholly favorable description, styles him "the prince of working-men". *Memoirs*, IX. 405. See also "Glances at Congress", *Democratic Review* (1837), I. 68-81.

He defended also the formation of labor unions (a cause of alarm to many people) as "counterpoises against capital, whenever it shall attempt to exert an unlawful or undue influence".³ This speech made an unusual impression, especially upon members from the South.⁴

Another set of interests appears in the speech of Senator Nathaniel P. Tallmadge, which was delivered in the Senate on June 17, 1836. In explaining a variance with his colleague, Silas Wright, concerning a Bill to Regulate the Deposits of the Public Money, Mr. Tallmadge took occasion to set forth his views upon current conceptions of capitalism as embodied in the phrase, "the credit system"; though he did not specify precisely what was meant by the phrase. Prosperity, he first asserted, was the criterion of the system. He then proceeded to a justification of it as vitally related to liberty—but to a defined liberty:

The credit system [he declared] is the distinguishing feature between despotism and liberty; it is the offspring of free institutions; it is found to exist, and its influence is felt, in proportion to the freedom enjoyed by any people. By freedom I do not mean unregulated, unrestrained, natural liberty, but that freedom which is founded on just and equitable laws, where the rights of personal security, of private property, and religious toleration, are guaranteed to every individual; where there is a general diffusion of knowledge and the existence of public and private morality.⁵

³ *Reg. of Debates in Congress*, 24 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 3428-3439.

⁴ "A thundering Jack Cade or Wat Tyler speech", J. Q. Adams, *op. cit.* "The whole House was excited at the novelty and boldness of his democratic doctrines, not less [than] at the extraordinary manner in which he had turned aside from the current of debate, and struck fearlessly forward into a field to which few orators had before ventured to lead the attention of that body. I overheard some gentlemen from the south say, that they thought they heard the high priest of revolution singing his war song." *Democratic Review*, I. 74-76. The last sentence gains significance in the light of the great change in political theory which was at this time taking place in the South; see W. E. Dodd, "The Social Philosophy of the Old South", *American Journal of Sociology*, XXIII. 735-746.

⁵ *Cong. Globe*, 24 Cong., 1 sess., app., pp. 469-470. The relations between Tallmadge and Wright ceased to be amicable in the following winter. The latter confidentially wrote to Flagg that Tallmadge on the basis of growing differences in political matters had both affronted him publicly and had sought advantage in underhanded ways. Wright to Flagg, January 9, 1837, Flagg Correspondence, New York Public Library. In February the re-election of Wright as senator was openly or secretly opposed at Albany by individuals who sympathized with Tallmadge's views. William L. Marcy to Gen. Prosper M. Wetmore, July 20, 1837, Marcy Papers, vol. XXVIII, Library of Congress. Wright, it will be recalled, was one of the leading members of the Regency. His re-election, according to Greeley, was acceptable to the Locofocos. *The New Yorker*, February 11, 1837, p. 332.

Moore and Tallmadge were representative of two groups within the Democratic-Republican party of New York which were revealing divergent tendencies. While both groups had affiliations over the state and their antagonisms finally forced the prevailing agrarian Democracy of the state to a choice of sides, yet it was in the city that they most spontaneously developed. They reflected in fact new conditions of urbanization and industrialism which were obtaining in the rapidly growing city at the mouth of the Hudson, where massing of population, a new capitalistic domination of industry, and the emergence of a proletariat were raising imperative questions as to modes of artificial subsistence, methods of gratifying the aspirations and meeting the responsibilities of entrepreneurs, and measures of defense on the part of working-men.⁶ These problems were rendered the more pressing because of the crude and inordinate expansion of credit which was a marked feature of the finance of the period, and they were manifested concretely in conflicts over currency and banking. Abstract discussion, moreover, proceeded further to inquire into the nature of democratic society, and deep-lying antagonisms relative to the control of government were being generated. New York City, therefore, was becoming an important centre for the initiation and promulgation of political opinion.

For a decade prior to 1837 the formulation of a body of radical belief had been going on. The incitements of manhood suffrage, economic pressure upon fixed-income classes, preachments of agitators and social theorists, and the general democratic movement of the age were factors in the process of declaring afresh the principles of idealistic democracy and of applying these in concrete statements to new conditions. Working-men in particular had been in constant ferment. Burdened by rapid rise in the cost of living, remote from refuge in the public lands, and under pressure from the new "merchant-capitalism", they had plunged in 1828-1830 into a short-lived, but intense, political movement and were now in the middle thirties devoting themselves to the organization of labor unions.⁷ The working-men's activities had direct bearings upon

⁶ The population in 1835 according to a special census was 269,873. There were 5 cotton factories, 11 iron works, 9 tanneries, and 19 breweries and distilleries. *New York Times*, November 2, 1835. Organized trades alone in 1834 had in New York and Brooklyn a membership of 11,500 working-men. *Doc. Hist. of Amer. Industrial Soc.*, VI. 191. There were in the former city 43,091 voters in 1835. J. J. Lalor, *Cyclopedia of Political Science*, III. 853. This massing of voters, unequalled elsewhere in the United States, was politically potential.

⁷ J. R. Commons *et al.*, *History of Labour in the United States*, I. 231-284, 335-469.

two groups which at this time represented political radicalism in the city. These were a progressive minority within Tammany and the Locofoco party.⁸

A large portion of the progressives refused to leave the regular organization when the Locofoco mutiny occurred in the fall of 1835, and this element repeatedly showed its influence in the Young Men's General Committee of Tammany.⁹ Prominent among the progressives were Ely Moore, mentioned above, the first representative of labor in the Congress of the United States; Churchill C. Cambreleng, veteran congressman and "chancellor" of Van Buren;¹⁰ and William Leggett, associate editor of the *Evening Post*, later, editor of the *Plain Dealer*. William Cullen Bryant, the editor of the *Post*, was judiciously sympathetic with the progressive movement and gave it consistent support, and this journal was its recognized organ.

Leggett, however, was the chief inspirer of the movement. He was a prophet of idealistic democracy, who, *inter alia*, believed in extending women's rights, advocated freedom of speech for abolitionists, and championed passionately the doctrines of liberty and equality. During an absence of Bryant in Europe in 1835, Leggett was in charge of the *Post*, and his editorials were eagerly read and had a powerful influence. A writer in the *Democratic Review* in 1840 asserted that they tended to divide the party which in 1835 bore the name of Democratic into two camps: in the one were the Democrats who were interested in banking, the timid, and "the friends of whatever is established"; in the other were "the Demo-

⁸ The precise connection between Locofocoism and the labor movement is difficult to determine. That there was agreement in body of doctrine is evident, and it is likewise apparent that a number of labor union men were earnest Locofoco partizans. But, on the other hand, the fact that there were in the state certainly upwards of eleven thousand union men, while the Locofoco vote never equalled half that number, shows that a majority of the labor men did not support the party. A comparison of leaders is even more decisive. A somewhat careful enumeration of the persons mentioned by the Locofoco secretary, Byrdsall, as connected with the movement totals 145 names. This list includes all of the leaders and important men, and also most of the ward committeemen. Now, of the 145 only twenty-three are found in the searching index to the *Documentary History of American Industrial Society*, and not more than half of these are of more than incidental importance. In fact, only three of the leaders in the labor union movement were clearly important in the Locofoco party; these were Commerford, Slamm, and Townsend.

⁹ Notice actions of the committee, *post*, pp. 407 and 412.

¹⁰ Thus the *Times* (July 3, 1837), phrased its estimate of Cambreleng's relation to Van Buren. Cambreleng served in every Congress from the seventeenth to the twenty-fifth, inclusive. In the latter he was chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. For a sketch of him see the *Democratic Rev.* (1839), VI. 144-158.

crats of stricter notions, the friends of reform, and the mass of the young men".¹¹ There was an incisiveness in this young editor's thought, a penetrating quality to his utterances which aroused and urged on his disciples and brought upon him vehement hatred of opponents. Even so cool-headed a statesman as Marcy called him crack-brained and knavish, the Peter the Hermit of a new crusade;¹² and the banking element was furious when he advocated that the Democratic party should advance beyond its warfare upon the United States bank to attack the special privileges of the state banks. On the other hand, Leggett's friends and followers gave to him an almost adoring admiration—a feeling reflected, on his death in 1839, in the well-known tribute which Bryant wrote,

... when the death-frost came to lie,
On Leggett's warm and mighty heart.

A more measured estimate of his character, which was made by Bryant after the lapse of many years, may be taken as fairly accurate:

He was fond of study, and delighted to trace principles to their remotest consequences, whither he was always ready to follow them. The quality of courage existed in him almost to excess, and he took a sort of pleasure in bearding public opinion. He wrote with surprising fluency, and often with eloquence, took broad views of the questions that came before him, and possessed the faculty of rapidly arranging the arguments which occurred to him, in clear order, and stating them persuasively.¹³

Though the more militant portion of the radicals acknowledged the inspiration which they received from Leggett, they nevertheless refused to heed his counsel to seek betterment of conditions from within the party, and turned resolutely to the formation of a thorough-going party of reform. The Equal Rights or Locofoco party which this faction organized, though it proved insignificant in number of adherents and in duration of existence, nevertheless has a distinct place in American political history. More uncompromisingly, perhaps, than any other of our third-party movements of protest, this represented the humanitarian view of democracy. The dominating and ever-present idea in the creed of the Locofocos was

¹¹ *Democratic Rev.*, VI. 23.

¹² Marcy to Wetmore, July 12, 1837, and January 16, 1837. Marcy Papers, vol. III.

¹³ "Reminiscences of the Evening Post", in John Bigelow's *William Cullen Bryant* (1890), app., p. 327. For an appreciative biographical notice of Leggett, see the *Democratic Rev.*, VI. 17-28.

the equality of human beings in their political relations. This equality, the Locofocos felt, was in peril from the "credit system" and its sponsors, and therefore they vehemently fought banks and "paper capitalism" as the money monopoly of their time. Monopoly of any sort, in fact, was abhorrent in their eyes. They looked upon special privileges as incompatible with democracy and claimed that constitutional government in its very essence forbade the vesting of rights in perpetuity. They were tremendously in earnest, and their utterances had carrying power. Even at the time there were observers who thought that they saw in the diminutive party potentialities for the future.¹⁴ It was in reality a nascent proletarian party, while the Democratic party of the time was essentially agrarian and the Whig commercial and capitalistic. It gathered up in a series of declarations and constitutions the formulations of the radical democracy which had been worked out in the previous decade and disseminated them.¹⁵ At a time when the South, turning its back upon Jeffersonian philosophy, was committing itself to the doctrines of social articulation and class dominance,¹⁶ and sympathizers with aristocracy were not wanting in the North,¹⁷ the Locofoco party boldly reasserted the principles of the social compact and of the Declaration of Independence, and zealously proclaimed anew the tenets of ultra-idealistic democracy.

The perception by the Locofocos of the social and political divergences of the time was expressed in one of their statements as follows:

There are two opinions abroad in the world, on the subject of social relations and the government of man. . . .

The theory of the one party is, that man, by reason of his ignorance, and of his corrupt nature, is not capable of self-government. . . . They assert that the Creator in his providence has produced a different order of intelligence among men, and intended that the most intelligent should be the governors and rulers, as well as the owners, and live by the labor of the other portions of the human family. . . .

¹⁴ Cf. Theodore Sedgwick, jr., in the *Plain Dealer*, June 10, 1837: "that most valuable vanguard of the Democrattick host, the Equal Rights Party". "The workingmen's party and the equal rights party have operated as causes producing effects that will shape the course of the two great parties of the United States and consequently the destinies of this great republic." Quoted by J. D. Hammond in *A History of Political Parties in the State of New-York* (Albany, 1842), II. 503.

¹⁵ "Resolutions" of October 29, 1835; "Declaration of Principles" by the County Convention, February 9, 1836; "Declaration of Rights", September 15, 1836; "Proposed Constitution", September 11, 1837. F. Byrdsall, *History of the Loco-Foco or Equal Rights Party* (New York, 1842), pp. 27, 39, 68, 163-167.

¹⁶ W. E. Dodd in the *Am. Jour. of Sociology*, XXIII. 735-746.

¹⁷ A. de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (1904), I. 182-184.

The other theory referred to, is that man is a rational and moral being, "that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights." That by nature he is also a social being, and that on entering into society he does not give up any of his natural rights, but to secure those rights in their fullest enjoyment, "governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." . . .

The governments of these United States were founded on the latter theory, and it is now to be proved by after experience, whether it is capable of being carried out in practice.¹⁸

In contrast to the idealism of the Locofocos and their sympathizers were the maxims of practical, sensible, efficient democracy which were adhered to by the conservative Republicans. A general view of the ideas of the latter may be had from excerpts from the *New York Times*, which was the organ of the group. Democracy was held by the *Times* to be "something more than a crusade against this or that evil".¹⁹ Genuine democracy is not for one class alone, but "looks to the situation and happiness of all, rich and poor alike". It is not visionary, aiming at unattainable perfection; but "has regard for the expedient and the useful, and binds the country together by ties of interest".²⁰ An orderly social life must obtain in a democracy, and landmarks of property and of interest must be established and maintained in accordance with the experience and good sense of the people.²¹ There must be, moreover, certain principles and usages by the observance of which democracy becomes disciplined,²² and these are to be administered by the wise, the intelligent, and the virtuous, in order to overcome the levelling tendencies of anarchists. The credit system is intimately connected with democracy, because the former is founded finally "upon moral capital—made up of skill, capacity, perseverance, integrity and enterprise".²³

He who would seek to understand the political struggles of the thirties needs some comprehension of the credit system, since it was regarded as central to the strategy of both of the contending divi-

¹⁸ Byrdsall, *Loco-Foco Party*, p. 72.

¹⁹ *N. Y. Times*, November 18, 1837.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, October 7, 1837.

²¹ *Ibid.*; also quotation from the *Washington Globe*, in Byrdsall, pp. 18, 19.

²² *N. Y. Times*, November 3, 1835.

²³ Letter from Hugh S. Legaré of South Carolina, *ibid.*, August 22, 1838. Letters from Legaré appeared occasionally in the *Times*, and these were in accord with its political and social principles. It is interesting to note the affiliations of the New York conservatives with some of the statesmen of the South. These affiliations are especially clear with Virginia leaders; Rives, one of the latter, was working closely with Tallmadge.

sions of the Democracy. This system may be defined as the means by which capital is brought under the control of entrepreneurs.²⁴ Men of the entrepreneur type, it may be said, dominated the democratic organization of New York City in the early thirties. They were men who somehow had to procure means for financing enterprises and for developing resources over a constantly widening area; for this was a time of rapidly enlarging markets and of increasing diversification of wants.²⁵ There was urgent need of greater facilities for exchange transactions²⁶—a need which could be met only through credit operations since the scarcity of specie practically restricted the use of gold and silver to the function of a standard of values.²⁷ Increased banking facilities were therefore requisite for expansion of currency, and banks were indispensable instrumentalities of the system. Confidence and prosperity were always concomitants of its right working.²⁸ The *raison d'être* of the system was the production of wealth, the acquisition of property, and the investiture of property with legal title. If its advocates might have disclaimed a belief that government exists primarily for human beings with property, they nevertheless insisted that business operations and the validation of property rights are a main concern of government.²⁹

The upholders of the credit system and of the traditions of conservative democracy, "the old Patriarchs and firm Friends of the ancient organization and tried usages of the Democratic-Republican party", as they described themselves,³⁰ formed a very numerous and very influential element in New York City in 1837.³¹ Among

²⁴ E. D. Howard, *Cause and Extent of the Recent Industrial Progress of Germany* (1907), pp. 25-26; quoted in F. A. Ogg's *Economic Development of Modern Europe*, p. 220.

²⁵ There is a suggestive comment on the far-ramifying changes which were taking place in industry, in a report by Levi Woodbury, secretary of the treasury. *Cong. Globe*, 26 Cong., 2 sess., p. 7. See also discussion by Professor Commons and Helen L. Sumner, *Doc. Hist.*, V. 19-37.

²⁶ This matter was ably treated in a speech of Webster, *Cong. Globe*, 25 Cong., 2 sess., app., pp. 632-641.

²⁷ Legaré, *ubi supra*, note 23.

²⁸ *N. Y. Times*, June 22, 1836.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, August 17, 1837. The *Times* even asserted that if titles to the public lands were alienated for considerations other than property, then "the covetous will attack all property".

³⁰ Thus in an address to Van Buren, September 27, 1837. Van Buren Papers, vol. XXIX., Library of Congress.

³¹ There were nearly seven hundred signers of a letter to Tallmadge endorsing his stand, "including a majority of the Old Men's General Committee (over two-thirds), and seventy-odd Democrats, directors in banks, insurance and railroad companies". Byrdsall, *Loco-Foco Party*, p. 158. Practically the same number later signed the address to Van Buren.

the foremost in zeal and masterfulness was Gideon Lee, a typical "merchant-capitalist" and an ex-mayor, who was now a member of Congress and reputed to be part owner of the *Times*.³² No one was so hated by the Locofocos as was he. Others of the leaders were Samuel Swartwout (of subsequent unsavory fame), Daniel Jackson, Benjamin Birdsall, and Prosper M. Wetmore. It is worth while remarking, in passing, that Governor Marcy was in constant and intimate correspondence with the last-named gentleman during the summer of 1837. The members of this group had grown up within the Democratic organization, many of them doubtless like Lee from obscurity and poverty. Their democracy and their interests had coincided in enthusiastic support of the Jacksonian assault upon the "monster monopoly" whose headquarters were at Philadelphia; but to their minds an attack upon banking in general and the state system in particular was a menace to their own welfare, the rights of property, and the good order of society. Their views were shared by a large portion of the Democratic-Republicans of the state,³³ and it was this wing of the party which Senator Tallmadge essayed to lead.³⁴

Between the two extremes represented on the one hand by Tallmadge and the old patriarchs of Tammany and on the other by the Locofocos was the body of the Democratic-Republican party of the state under the able leadership of Marcy and the other members of the Regency.³⁵ It is a mistake to conceive of the men of the

³² Lee was a native of Amherst, Mass., who came to New York in 1808. Engaging in the wholesale leather trade, he became one of the leading business men of the city. He and his associates were closely identified with banks and insurance companies. Biographical accounts may be found in Hunt's *Merchants' Magazine*, VIII. 57-64, and in F. W. Norcross, *A History of the New York Swamp*, pp. 51-57. See also *Cong. Globe*, 24 Cong., 1 sess., app., pp. 19-20.

³³ Conservative leanings were particularly noticeable at Albany in the activities of Beardsley, the attorney general, and of Dr. Wendell, chairman of the Albany General Committee.

³⁴ Tallmadge himself was interested in the Dutchess County Bank. He wrote to Flagg urging the support of "our friends" to make it a deposit bank. Tallmadge to Flagg, September 26, 1836. Flagg Correspondence, New York Public Library.

³⁵ The Regency group included at this time (besides Van Buren, Marcy, and Wright) Butler, attorney general of the United States; Dix, secretary of the state; Flagg, comptroller (a very important officer); Knower, a banker and father-in-law of Marcy; and Crosswell, the veteran editor of the *Albany Argus*. An interesting suggestion of the inner relations of the group is afforded by a letter from Wright to Flagg, January 9, 1837, Flagg Correspondence. Wright wrote, "You as the senior member of the Regency, have the prior right to all public and important communications to that body, which, of course, are private and confidential as to all the rest of the world."

Regency as mere machine politicians. They were consummate politicians; but they were also men of integrity and broad-minded patriotism, and some of the group showed statesmanship of unusual merit.³⁶ These keen-sighted and experienced leaders perceived as clearly as any Locofoco the evils and dangers of the banking situation and in constructive fashion were trying to remedy them. The Safety Fund banking system of New York, which had been developed largely under the leadership of members of the Regency, though it needed the elimination of monopolistic features which had survived from an earlier period, contained the elements of a sound system, and these capable financiers were seeking to democratize it and at the same time to retain its elements of stability.³⁷

The laborious and well-controlled processes of progressive democratic evolution were cut short, however, by the financial cataclysm of the spring of 1837. Under stress of calamity the views of men who were seeking escape grew more intense and distinct, and the financial crisis urged on decisive political alignment.

One of the first steps was taken by a meeting of New York merchants who prepared an address to President Van Buren and appointed a committee to confer with him at Washington. This committee returned unsatisfied and displeased and proceeded to

³⁶ Notably, Van Buren, Wright, Dix, and Marcy. For an estimate of the last, see "A Great Secretary of State", by J. B. Moore, *Political Science Quarterly*, September, 1915, pp. 377-396.

³⁷ An editorial of the *Albany Argus*, the representative of the Regency (quoted in the *Plain Dealer*, March 4, 1837), discusses the banking situation in an able manner and reveals the earnest and sensible views taken by the responsible leaders of the Democracy: "This system was adopted, not as a measure of the banks, but for the protection of the people against the evils, abuses, and failures under a previous state of things. In its general and material provisions, *viz.*, protection to the bill holder and to the community generally through a thorough supervision and the creation of a fund, it has fully answered the expectations and justified the sagacity of its projectors. . . . We say this, however, with qualification, and with the belief that the defects which experience has developed, are susceptible of being removed. These, we conceive, consist:

- 1st. In the character of exclusiveness and monopoly which belongs in some degree to the legislative corporation of individual charters.
- 2nd. The combinations and corruptions attending the applications to the legislature for specific grants of banking privileges. And,
- 3d. The evils, as well in reference to the character and sound action of the legislature, as to the moral condition of the people, of a stock distribution by commissioners.

"The remedy which has been proposed, and which we regard as adequate to the purpose, is a General Safety Fund Law . . . so framed as to obviate the complaints arising from the nature of individual grants by the legislature, and at the same time diminish in no degree the stability of the currency."

Marcy's messages as governor also contain strong presentations of the subject.

issue a long report which was in reality a Whig manifesto. We are not so much concerned with the specific statements of this document as we are with its general views of society and of class relationships, for these were very much the same as those held by the conservative Democrats. It ran as follows:

The principle upon which Mr. Van Buren has uniformly acted, and uniformly succeeded, is this, that the poor naturally hate the rich. [The rightful view, on the contrary, was held to be that the interests of the capitalistic class and of the laboring class are interdependent.] . . . avow your belief that in a great majority of cases the possession of property is the proof of merit, because in a country of free laws and equal rights, property, as a general rule, cannot be acquired without industry, skill, and economy. . . . with a firm faith that the many will follow the wise and the good, call upon the men of sound morals, of intelligence and industry, throughout the nation, to forget all the distracting topics which have agitated it, and unite in defence of the institutions without which commercial society can not exist.

It is interesting to note also that an appeal "to our brethren of the South" was included, and the promise was extended "that those who believe that the possession of property is an evidence of merit, will be the last to interfere with the rights of property of any kind".³⁸

Because of the panic two important courses were entered upon by the state administration. The first was embodied in a law suspending for one year the operation of the Safety Fund Act in laying liable to loss of charter any bank refusing to make specie payments. Though the law contained careful provisos looking to a speedy resumption of specie payments, it was bitterly denounced by the Locofocos as the sort of unconstitutional favoritism which was granted to banks, but never extended to poor men when they violated law.³⁹ Marcy's conduct in this respect was severely reprobated by them, and agitation against legalizing suspension was kept up for many years following. The second was the refusal of Marcy to call a special session of the legislature in order to repeal a law which forbade the issuance of bank-notes of more than five dollars.⁴⁰ This action was heartily endorsed by the Locofocos, but

³⁸ *Niles' Register*, LII. 165.

³⁹ Byrdsall, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

⁴⁰ *Niles*, LII. 355. There is a statement by J. J. Knox, *History of Banking in the United States* (New York, 1903), p. 408, that a law was passed, May 16, 1837, which allowed the use of small bills for a few years. Marcy's language in refusing to reopen the matter (June 12, 1837) clearly contradicts this statement and gives ground for supposing that Knox (or his editor) mistook the introduction of a bill to this effect for its passage. The law described by Knox was passed on February 28, 1838. *Journal of the Senate of the State of New York*, 60 sess., p. 527.

it made the governor chargeable with a law which, as Greeley said, "touched the people's pockets with daily distress" and gave poignancy to conservative arguments.⁴¹

On May 15, 1837, the President summoned Congress to meet on September 4. In the time intervening between the call and the assemblage, the divisions within the Democratic-Republican party in New York became clearly defined. Both elements claimed to represent the true democracy; both hoped for the adhesion to its views of the general body of the party in the state; and both aspired to the validation of the federal administration.⁴²

On the side of the conservatives the campaign was opened by a significant pronouncement of Senator Tallmadge. The senator had signed a call for a meeting to secure the repeal of the five-dollar law, and for this had been severely upbraided by the *New York Evening Post*. He replied in a letter to the *Albany Argus* of June 6, 1837. In this letter he advocated the repeal of the law and repeated some of the ideas which, as indicated in his speech of June, 1836, he had earlier worked out. "I am in favor of a well regulated credit system", he wrote, "and opposed to the chimerical scheme of an exclusive metallic currency", and he reiterated his favorite formula that "the credit system is the distinguishing feature between despotism and liberty".⁴³

The radical side found voice on June 13 through resolutions adopted by the Young Men's General Committee of Tammany Hall. These opposed the suspension law and attributed the pecuniary difficulties of the time to "the unwarranted increase of specially privileged institutions, which have sent swarms of bank notes among us". "All special banking incorporations", one of the resolutions ran, "are not only in opposition to the spirit of universal rights, but a hindrance to the accumulation of property by honest industry." The committee proposed to be on guard against any party which affirmed that "the possession of property is a proof of merit".⁴⁴

⁴¹ See Greeley's remarks on "The Crusade against the Small Bills", *The New Yorker*, February 18, 1837, p. 345.

⁴² It is worth while remarking the strategic positions in the national councils which were occupied at this juncture by men from New York—the presidency, the office of attorney general, the chairmanships of the Finance Committee of the Senate (Wright) and of the Ways and Means Committee of the House (Carmeleng).

⁴³ A copy of this letter, together with comments thereon from the *Poughkeepsie Journal*, is in the Tallmadge material in the Library of the Wisconsin Historical Society. In this material is a statement by Tallmadge that Marcy promised to back him in opposing the independent treasury.

⁴⁴ *The Plain Dealer*, June 13, 1837.

In reply the conservative portion of Tammany publicly avowed concurrence in Tallmadge's course. In a letter to him (July 4) they expressed their "entire approbation of the sentiments so laudably put forth in your letter". Quoting Tallmadge's often-used phrases, they announced their hearty approval and assured the author that they believed them "to be the sentiments of a great majority of the Republican party".⁴⁵

So simultaneously as almost to suggest concerted action there appeared an address of the Albany General Committee, which became famous as the "Albany Manifesto". In specific assertions the address formally attempted mediation; but it praised the credit system and asserted that "The Democratic party holds no spirit in common with the radical spirit which has sprung up in New York".⁴⁶ The address was written by the attorney general, Beardsley, at the instance of Dr. Wendell and others, "who have become uneasy at anti-bankism".⁴⁷ This group had worked against the re-election of Wright as senator⁴⁸ and was in alliance with Tallmadge.⁴⁹ The state of mind of Dr. Wendell is revealed in a letter which he wrote subsequently to President Van Buren. "Rest assured, my dear friend", he said, "nothing has ever so much alarmed and disturbed the peace and tranquility of the good people of this state, as the dread of loco-focoism. The cholera itself scarcely carried with it more terrors."⁵⁰

It is in connection with this address that a rift begins to be revealed in the Regency. Emanating from Albany and published in the official organ, the address was hailed all over the country as an indication that the Van Buren organization was inclining toward the conservative position; but it was soon disavowed by the *Argus* to the extent of saying that it did not represent the Regency officially. Dix wrote to Van Buren disclaiming connection on behalf of himself, Flagg, and Crosswell;⁵¹ the last, however, had conservative leanings which soon gave concern at Washington.⁵² The attitude of Marcy was of very great importance. While he had nothing to do with getting up the address and held himself aloof from the movement which it represented, yet his confidential letters show that

⁴⁵ The letter is given in full in Byrdsall, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

⁴⁶ *The Plain Dealer*, July 8, 1837.

⁴⁷ Dix to Van Buren, July 8, 1837. Van Buren Papers, vol. XXVIII.

⁴⁸ Marcy to Wetmore, July 20, 1837. Marcy Pap., vol. III.

⁴⁹ Cambreleng to Abraham Van Buren, July 20, 1837. Van Buren Pap., vol. XXVIII.

⁵⁰ Wendell to Van Buren, November 13, 1837. Van Buren Pap., vol. XXX.

⁵¹ Dix to Van Buren, July 5, 1837. Van Buren Pap., vol. XXVIII.

⁵² Flagg to Van Buren, November 5, 1837. Van Buren Pap., vol. XXX.

he viewed the former at least with favor.⁵³ He felt deeply his responsibility as leader of the party in the state, and, perceiving more clearly than any of his associates the grave character of the divisive tendencies in the party, he viewed these with much anxiety.⁵⁴ In case of necessity of a choice between these tendencies, however, his correspondence reveals his inner inclination; he draws away from "the taint or rot of radicalism", consistently reprobates the Locofocos and sneers at their leaders, and even dares to suggest that "our old hero" himself [Jackson] shows indiscreet "mania" in some recent letters and is like to violate that law of the drama which requires that the hero die in the last act if not before.⁵⁵ The almost instinctive reactions of Marcy against radicalism in the summer of 1837, in contradistinction to those of most of the other members of the Regency, initiated a lasting disaffection in that body, and indicated a beginning of the extensive divergence of the wings of the Democratic party of New York into "Hunkers" and "Barn-burners".

There was immediately impending, however, an important defection. That keen observer and vigorous exponent of sheer democracy, William Leggett, predicted at this juncture that the "*in medio tutissimus ibis* democrats" [*i. e.*, Tallmadge and associates] were about to form a distinct party or at least to withdraw from the party with which they were affiliated. So long, Leggett said, as these could obtain all sorts of exclusive privileges from the government

by wearing the unmeaning name of the republican party, they were content; but now that the people insist on the practical enforcement of the doctrine of equal rights; now that they demand that legislation shall be general, not special, and for the common good of all, not the peculiar good of a few, and require that government shall be democratick in fact as well as in name, the monopoly gentry think the time has come for them to hoist their own flag.⁵⁶

As we think over this interpretation, it is allowable to raise the question whether it was not about this time that the "Democratic-Republican" party, losing a conservative element, began to become (at least in the North) the modern Democratic party. If this be true, it may be suggested that modern industrialism in the United States and the Democratic party developed contemporaneously.

⁵³ Marcy to Wetmore, July 2, 12, 1837. Marcy Pap., vol. III.

⁵⁴ Marcy to Wetmore, July 20, 1837. *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Marcy to Wetmore, January 16, August 18, 1837. *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *The Plain Dealer*, July 15, 1837.

At any rate, the stand which was being taken by the conservatives aroused the radicals within Tammany to greater ardor for their type of democracy, and at various ward meetings they condemned the Tallmadge pronouncements and called for a reorganization of Tammany. Of special significance were the resolutions of the Eleventh, the "most powerful democratic ward" in the city. Banks, the resolutions averred, were "dangerous to the interests of the great body of the people, either as one great institution or as a number of small ones". The aim of Tallmadge as a representative of the aristocracy is "Bank, Bank, Bank, and the aim of the democracy is no longer Bank and State".

We find at this juncture evidence of direct influence upon Van Buren of the radical group in New York through Churchill C. Cambreleng. We have mentioned above the position of Cambreleng in the party councils at this time and the closeness of his association with Van Buren.⁵⁷ All through the summer of 1837 in particular, as the Van Buren Papers show, he was in frequent correspondence with the latter. He also was in sympathetic touch with the Locofocos, and many of them had voted for him in the election of 1836.⁵⁸ The above-mentioned radical resolutions (which contain more than there is space for quoting) were passed on July 19, probably at a meeting in the evening; the next day a copy in full was transmitted by Cambreleng to the President with a strong endorsement. "There never was a crisis", the former urged, "more admirably adapted to form a pure, sound, democratic party."⁵⁹

The conservative members of Tammany continued actively to combat the radicals and just before the opening of the special session in September issued a formal address in which they heartily endorsed the principles of democracy which were set forth in *The Madisonian*, a paper recently established at Washington to represent the conservative movement.⁶⁰ These issues gave prominence to Tallmadge's letter, the Albany Manifesto, and a famous speech by Rives, of Virginia.

Such, then, was the distracted condition of the Democratic-Republican party of New York, when in the first days of September came the President's special message. The effect, Flagg wrote, was like that of an electric shock.⁶¹ Comments of New York newspapers

⁵⁷ *Ante*, p. 399.

⁵⁸ Byrdsall, *op. cit.*, pp. 20, 94, 96.

⁵⁹ The resolutions and Cambreleng's comments are found in the Van Buren Papers under date of July 20, 1837. Another letter from Cambreleng of like tenor followed on August 8.

⁶⁰ *The Plain Dealer*, September 2, 1837.

⁶¹ Flagg to Van Buren, November 5, 1837. Van Buren Pap., vol. XXX.

will give some idea of its trend. Greeley began his editorial in the *New Yorker* with, "The message toes the mark. There are no two ways about it." The *Courier*, a leading Whig paper, said that it "embodied in specious phrase and thin-veiled sophistry the most pernicious doctrines of Loco Focoism", and declared that the President "has gone the full length with the *Plain Dealer*, the *Evening Post*, the *Washington Globe*, Blair, Kendall and General Jackson". Of special interest is the opinion of the *Times*, the representative of the conservatives, which was as follows:

Our readers will have perceived, before this sheet reaches them, that the sentiments of Mr. Van Buren in relation to the establishment of Subtreasuries are in direct opposition to what we have conceived to be the views of a large majority of his political friends. While we admit that his arguments are ingenuous [ingenious] they have failed to remove the serious objections which have hitherto been urged against the system.⁶²

Marcy judged that the message "made mighty men of the leaders of the locofoco faction".⁶³

The message to the special session of the Twenty-fifth Congress, in truth, is a classical expression of the general democratic movement which so profoundly affected the political destinies of the United States in the decades prior to the Civil War. The fundamental postulate of the message was that the real duty of government—"that duty the performance of which makes a good government the most precious of human blessings—is to enact and enforce a system of general laws commensurate with, but not exceeding, the objects of its establishment, and to leave every citizen and every interest to reap under its benign protection the rewards of virtue, industry, and prudence". The main danger to fundamental equality of citizens arose from the activities of men intent on individual enterprises in manipulating public finance for the aggrandizement of their own projects—a danger to be apprehended both in the federal and the state governments. The danger centred in the control of currency by corporations whose powers were of doubtful constitutionality and whose propensities were to "stimulate extravagance of enterprise by improvidence of credit". To such improvidence the disasters of the time were traced. Distinct sympathy was shown for the "great laboring classes who are thrown suddenly out of employment, and by the failure of magnificent schemes never

⁶² Quotations from a number of journals were given in the *Plain Dealer*, September 9, 1837.

⁶³ Marcy to Van Buren, December 8, 1837. Van Buren Pap., vol. XXX.

intended to enrich them are deprived in a moment of their only resource"; and reliance for recovery from disaster was placed upon the agricultural interest; but the commercial classes received more criticism than solace. The financial principle mainly to be relied upon for alleviation of the prevailing distress was to limit wherever possible the use of paper money and to foster the use of "legal" currency. At any rate, the credit of the federal government was no longer to be used as the basis of private issues of notes nor exposed to the vicissitudes of bank deposits, and a treasury system for the reception, safe-keeping, and disbursement of public funds was the leading specific recommendation. The message expressed in moderate but decided tone the main tenets of the Equal Rights party, though lacking some of their extravagances; and it may be looked upon as the primary manifesto of the larger Locofocoism to which the administration Democrats were henceforth committed.⁶⁴

The decision of the President resulted, presently, in the ascendancy of the radicals in the Democratic organization of the city of New York. The Locofocos promptly approved the special message, saying that it "awakens the admiration, and deserves the applause of every friend of Equal Rights, and will elicit the approbation of the whole genuine Democracy of the Union".⁶⁵ On the other hand, the General Committee and its adherents fought resolutely against "the radical and revolutionary doctrines which have swept over the land like a pestilence".⁶⁶ But the older order was gradually set aside by the younger element in Tammany; a coalition of candidates for the fall election was made with the Locofocos; and the organization was at last "purified" of monopolists. Gideon Lee joined the Whigs, and it is to be presumed that many of his associates did likewise.⁶⁷ The Locofocos came back to the Wigwam. Within the limited sphere of their direct political activities they had effected a revolution, and their work marked the close of an era in the history of Tammany.

To the watchful and apprehensive governor at Albany this change in the complexion of Tammany was very repugnant, and

⁶⁴ Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, III. 324-346.

⁶⁵ Byrdsall, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-162.

⁶⁶ The quotation is from an address which was sent to Van Buren by the Committee, September 27, 1837. Van Buren Pap., vol. XXIX.

⁶⁷ See Gustavus Myers, *History of Tammany Hall* (New York, 1917), pp. 112-116. Tallmadge also a little later became a Whig, or at least was re-elected to the Senate by Whigs. Hammond, *Hist. of Political Parties*, II. 523. In 1844 he was appointed governor of Wisconsin territory by President Tyler, serving two years.

his letters written while it was in progress are full of caustic remarks about the Locofocos. The "infusion of Slam-bangism" into the party ticket made it indeed a "precious morsel".⁶⁸ "The insolence of the locofocos who pretend they have (and for aught that appears they certainly have) a full endorsement of all their doctrines by the President is almost insufferable."⁶⁹ "We shall bye and bye have to ask these locofoco gentry where we shall go to church."⁷⁰ The banks, it would appear, are to be "surrendered to the Hideous Monster of locofocism".⁷¹ It was unreasonable to expect, the governor thought, "that the democrats of the state will range themselves under the banners of Ming, Leggett, Slam, Jaques and others of better repute at Washington".⁷²

Marcy's opinion of the message needs careful consideration. The statement in the *Calendar* of the Van Buren Papers that he approved it appears erroneous.⁷³ The best source for arriving at his real sentiments concerning it is a long letter which he wrote to Congressman Albert Gallup. "I have tried very hard", Marcy wrote to Gallup, "to like the measures of the Message but I must confess to you that I have not succeeded. My high personal regard for Mr. V. B. and my great admiration of his talents, wisdom, and discretion ought to induce me to defer to his better judgment—but still my mind will not submit." On the President's theory all of the financial transactions of the state would need to be made in specie, and "none but a mad locofoco would think of such folly". The sub-treasury project was dangerous; "the state banks have not had a fair trial and it savours of rashness to give them up". The party should not rely for success upon the destructive doctrines of the day. "Indeed the doctrines of the message", the governor sagaciously observes, "seemed to me on its first perusal to involve the reconstruction of the political parties of the country if an attempt

⁶⁸ Marcy to Wetmore, October 25, 1837. Marcy Pap., vol. III.

⁶⁹ Marcy to Gallup, September 23, 1837. *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ Marcy to Wetmore, September 26, 1837. *Ibid.*

⁷¹ Marcy to Gallup, *doc. cit. supra*, note 69.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ Marcy to Van Buren, September 18, 1837. Van Buren Pap., vol. XXIX. The letter is really non-committal. The portion referring to the message is as follows: "I have this morning received a copy of the Message under your frank for which I tender you my thanks.

"No one can have admired more than myself the very great ability it displays. You were doubtless prepared for some diversity of opinion among your political friends as to the policy of the measures therein recommended and I sincerely hope it will not be greater than you have anticipated."

be made to carry them out. Every thing that has since taken place has confirmed that impression."⁷⁴

The forebodings of the governor were confirmed by the startling success of the Whigs in the November elections in New York—a success precursory to subsequent victories in both the state and the nation which were the result in no small degree of the cleavages which were appearing in the Democratic party. At this time a Van Buren majority of eighty-two on joint ballot in the legislature was transformed into a Whig majority of sixty-four, a net gain of 144 members.⁷⁵ Van Buren's lieutenants attributed this reverse largely to the defection of conservative democrats to the Whigs.⁷⁶ Van Buren himself, though astounded by this political tornado, judged it but a temporary matter.⁷⁷ Not so the astute Marcy. "This blow", he wrote Wetmore, "will resound far and wide. I think it will startle the wise men at Washington. . . . You think next year will restore all. Don't be too sure of that. We have taken a mischievous partner into our concern. I mean the younger member, Locofocoism. The capital he brought in will not help us as much as his bad character will worsen our condition."⁷⁸

When, a year later, a yet more bitter defeat retired Marcy from the governorship, the *Democratic Review* (which, it will be recalled, was the intimate organ of Van Buren) criticized the leadership of the former, on the one hand, for not meeting squarely the question of the divorce of government from banking and, on the other, for catering to the conservatives. And, subsequently, it complained that the state leaders had not boldly avowed democratic principles nor overcome "their ancient timid reverence for their banks, and their credit system, and their paper money".⁷⁹

I have tried to make clear this gradual drawing apart of these two leaders of the Democratic party, based on fundamental predilections, because it seems to me to afford a clue to the right understanding of the course of New York politics for the next decade or more. Whether the question was concerning banks or canals or slavery, two groups habitually align themselves, according to their opposing

⁷⁴ Marcy to Gallup, September 23, 1837. Marcy Pap., vol. III. To any one who wishes to get at the deeper currents of the time in New York Democracy, this letter is important.

⁷⁵ Niles, LIII. 193.

⁷⁶ Flagg to Van Buren, November 9, 17, 1837; Cambreleng to Van Buren, November 9, 1837. Van Buren Pap., vol. XXX.

⁷⁷ Van Buren to Parker, November 16?, and to Jackson, November 18. Van Buren Pap., vol. XXX.

⁷⁸ Marcy to Wetmore, November 9, 1837. Marcy Pap., vol. III.

⁷⁹ *Democratic Rev.*, V. 6, 7; VI. 506.

views of fundamental democracy.⁸⁰ The one, inclining to the philosophy of enterprise, defended the state banks, championed the extension of the canal system, and affiliated itself with the expansionists of the South; the other, holding fast the principle of distributive justice, agitated the restriction of banks, tried to restrain canal promotion, and progressed toward "free soil, free speech, free labor and free men".⁸¹ The one was the "Hunkers"; the other the "Barnburners".⁸² Personal ambitions and resentments, to be sure, entered into the political manoeuvres of these factions, but there was nevertheless between them an abiding distinction. Marcy became the most prominent leader of the former, along with Crosswell, Beardsley, Horatio Seymour, and Dickinson; while Wright, Dix, Flagg, and Cambreleng continued under the captaincy of Van Buren.⁸³ The later political career of Van Buren gains in consistency if we consider it from the point of view of the course which he chose in 1837. At bottom a Jeffersonian Democrat before that time, he then naturally and decisively affiliated himself with the renewed Jeffersonism of the Locofocos, and to this type of democracy he subsequently gave faithful adherence.⁸⁴

Moreover, during the period which lay between Van Buren's message of the autumn of 1837 and the Democratic convention of the summer of 1844 when the Democracy of expansion sprang into the saddle with the nomination of Polk—a period in which Van Buren, abetted by Wright and Benton and blessed by the old hero

⁸⁰ One catches recurring glimpses of this alignment in the engaging pages of Hammond's *Hist. of Political Parties*; and there is a succinct and suggestive statement concerning it by Alexander Johnston in Lalor's *Cyclopedia of Political Science*, II. 476.

⁸¹ Contrast the address of the "regular" state convention of 1847 with the speech of John Van Buren at the Herkimer meeting. *Niles*, LXXIII. 390-392, 174-175.

⁸² The term "Hunker" appears to have been used by radicals of Tammany as an opprobrious designation of conservatives at least as early as 1835. Byrd-sall, *op. cit.*, pp. 16, 17. Schouler, *History of the United States*, IV. 462, connects "Barnburner" with radicalism by a possible derivation from charges of incendiarism brought against the reformers in the Dorr Rebellion in Rhode Island.

⁸³ Lalor, *Cyclopedia*, II. 476; Schouler, V. 98.

⁸⁴ "He was the same Van Buren in 1848 that he had always been; not one of the distinctly 'Locofoco' doctrines had he abjured, except, perhaps, that of the unconstitutionality of internal improvements. He had not made a single concession." T. C. Smith, *Liberty and Free Soil Parties in the Northwest*, p. 146. An estimate of Van Buren which was made by Leggett is perhaps suggestive of his real character: "We consider Mr. Van Buren an exceedingly cautious man in forming his conclusions; but we look upon him as equally firm in adhering to them when once fully and carefully formed, after a careful consideration of a subject in all its aspects and bearings." *The Plain Dealer*, April 22, 1837.

of the Hermitage, was something more than titular leader of his party—Locofoco principles were in the ascendant in the Democracy of the nation. During this period, indeed, the Democratic party was quite generally called the Locofoco party by its opponents, and the appellation was no longer disavowed by faithful adherents. It was not without significance, as Professor Dodd has observed, that in the Democratic platform of 1840, "For the last time in the history of *ante-bellum* Democracy the Declaration of Independence was declared to be an item of the party faith".⁸⁵

Leggett during this period became to the national progressive Democracy a sort of political saint, who was regarded as having been martyred to the cause now so generally espoused. Was it not he, exclaimed the *Democratic Review*, who had raised the flag inscribed with the "motto of hostility to chartered monopoly" to which the Democracy of the country was now rallying? Was not he "the leader and master-spirit of that gallant crusade of reform", now honored in all parts of the Union as Locofocoism? Truly, "the vast success of that purity and sternness of principle which he had espoused in advance was infusing new strength and power into the great army of American Democracy".⁸⁶

Nor were the original Locofocos held ignoble in the eyes of the Van Buren Democracy. In truth it was considered fortunate for freedom that some ardent spirits dared to "carry their ideas to the verge of extravagance", for thus there was furnished a counterbalance to the drag of anti-liberalism. The Locofoco doctrines were generally sound, and their practice would make the world happier. Essentially, these doctrines were those of Jefferson, Taylor, and Madison—a simple emphasis on equal rights, "a clear field and no favors". The Locofocos, in fine, insisted upon "all the consequences which can fairly be educed from the principles which are at the foundation of democratic liberty".⁸⁷ They were to be honored, indeed, for having prepared "by a long process of deep agitation on fundamental principles . . . the incipient fermentation of the purifying leaven of 'Locofocoism' which is now fast leavening the whole lump".⁸⁸

The national Locofocoism identified itself with its local prototype in New York, moreover, in regarding the banking interests as then constituted in this country as a bulwark of privilege similar to that of the feudal nobility in Europe. The pith of the progressive

⁸⁵ W. E. Dodd, *Expansion and Conflict*, p. 110.

⁸⁶ *Democratic Rev.*, VI. 17-28.

⁸⁷ Article on "Radicalism", *ibid.*, III. 99-111.

⁸⁸ "New York City vs. New York State", *ibid.*, VI. 499-517.

Democracy's opposition to the credit system was the issuance by the banks of a currency not strictly redeemable in specie. The great evil was the want of a fixed measure of value, and the prime remedy was the "separation of the two distinct functions of creating and lending the currency".⁸⁹

The idealism, also, of the early protagonists of equal rights was not wanting in their national successors. Though this idealism may to some extent have been an affectation for party purposes of the hour, though its rhetoric may have been at times strained, there can be no denying its reality nor its deep-lying power of appeal to the American people. The Locofocos earnestly felt themselves charged with a mission for the future of democracy.

For Democracy is the cause of Humanity. It has faith in human nature. It believes in its essential equality and fundamental goodness. . . . Its object is to emancipate the mind of the mass of men from the degrading and disheartening fetters of social distinctions and advantages . . . by striking at their root to reform all the infinitely varied human misery which has grown out of the old and false ideas by which the world has been so long misgoverned; to dismiss the hireling soldier; to spike the cannon, and bury the bayonet; to burn the gibbet, and open the debtor's dungeon; to substitute harmony and mutual respect for the jealousies and discord now subsisting between different classes of society, as the consequence of their artificial classification. It is essentially involved in Christianity, of which it has been well said that its pervading spirit of democratic equality among men is its highest fact. . . .⁹⁰

The idealistic democracy which the Locofocos represented and propagated was an important element in that crystallization of political sentiment and experience into constitutional forms, which was going on within the various states between 1830 and 1860, but which progressed with most rapidity after 1844. During these thirty years the constitutions of practically all of the older states were recast, and those of ten new ones were formed.⁹¹ The progress of this development was surveyed from time to time by the *Democratic Review* in a series of thoughtful and optimistic articles, which

⁸⁹ *Democratic Rev.*, VI. 449-462; I. 260-262.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, I. 1-15.

⁹¹ The movement has been sketched by McMaster in *History of the United States*, VII. 162-189, and by J. Q. Dealey under the caption of "The Period of Developing Democracy" in *The Growth of American State Constitutions*, pp. 47-55. There are informing articles by F. L. Paxson, "The Constitution of Texas, 1845", in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XVIII. 386-398, and "A Constitution of Democracy—Wisconsin, 1847", in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, II. 3-24.

affords one of the best sources for its study.⁹² In one of these the significance of the movement in general was sought to be interpreted. During the eighteenth century, it was asserted, some of the liberal statesmen of Europe had acknowledged that the people should have some influence in government; yet they were far from *trusting* the people with government. Likewise, in the beginnings of our own constitutional governments (notably in the Federal Convention of 1787) there had been on the part of many able men marked distrust of government by the people. Now, however, the great experiment in self-government was being moulded into abiding form by a new political science, and reform was receiving "a direction which will secure the enactment and administration of laws for the benefit of the whole people".⁹³ The reconstitution of popular government in this period, indeed, forms a chapter in the general history of democracy which perhaps has not been sufficiently appreciated by thoughtful Americans. Chevalier, surveying our democracy in the earlier part of the period and noting the significant *initiation* of our populace into the things which make for a full democratic civilization, burst out with, "This is the first time since the origin of society, that the people have fairly enjoyed the fruits of their labours, and have shown themselves worthy of the prerogatives of manhood."⁹⁴

To attempt to delineate the extent to which the divergences in the New York Democracy, which we have been studying, were reproduced in the national politics of the time and, in particular, to trace the influence of the radical element through the Van Buren Democracy upon the great movement which has just been referred to, would take us far afield and necessitate a survey for which the author's studies are immature; but some clear indications of the "leavening" process may be set forth briefly.

The influence of Locofocoism is discernible upon the constitutional convention which was held in New York in 1846. The Locofocos had begun to agitate for a reform convention as

⁹² "Constitutional Reform", XIII. 563-576; "The Progress of Constitutional Reform in the United States", XVIII. 243-256; "History of Constitutional Reform in the United States", *ibid.*, 403-420; "The New-York Constitutional Convention", XIX. 339-348; "Constitutional Governments: the Constitution of Wisconsin", XX. 195-204. The author of most, if not all, of these articles was John Bigelow. Bigelow, *Retrospections of an Active Life* (New York, 1909), I. 70; cited by Paxson, *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, II. 13.

⁹³ *Democratic Rev.*, XX. 195.

⁹⁴ Michel Chevalier, *Society, Manners and Politics in the United States* (Boston, 1839), pp. 428-437.

early as 1837 when they had framed an interesting model constitution.⁹⁵ "The career of the [Equal Rights] party was ephemeral", Dougherty remarks, "but its animosity against special legislation and special privileges had its influence upon the new constitution".⁹⁶ This effect was the more direct, perhaps, because ex-Congressman Churchill C. Cambreleng was chairman of the committee on banking. This committee recommended that there should be no special bank charters and no legal suspension of specie payments, and these recommendations were embodied in the new constitution.⁹⁷ The noteworthy reform of the judiciary, which was effected, was likewise a matter which had been very earnestly pressed by the early Locofocos.⁹⁸ In general, the convention of 1846, if we may accept the opinion of Alexander, ushered in a new era in New York in government by the people—an era when property no longer "measured a man's capacity and influence".⁹⁹

The Wisconsin conventions of 1846 and 1847 show strong influences from New York. The factions and nomenclature of the New York Democracy were reproduced to a very considerable extent both within the convention halls and in political discussions in the state at large. The New York constitution of 1846 was taken as a model.¹⁰⁰ In the first convention forty-two out of 124 members were from that state; in the second, twenty-five out of sixty-nine.¹⁰¹ Locofocoism was rampant in the former. Extremely radical provisions on banking were introduced and championed by Edward G. Ryan, chairman of the committee on banking, an Irishman by birth who had come to New York City in 1830 and had been admitted to the bar there in 1836.¹⁰² Another New Yorker, a small merchant by the name of Gibson, tried to tone these down by offering a resolution allowing banks under restrictions. An old Locofoco doctrine

⁹⁵ Byrdsall, pp. 163-167.

⁹⁶ J. H. Dougherty, *Legal and Judicial History of New York*, ed. Alden Chester (New York, 1911), II. 152.

⁹⁷ Charles Z. Lincoln, *The Constitutional History of New York* (1906), II. 195-198.

⁹⁸ Byrdsall, *op. cit.*, pp. 164-165.

⁹⁹ DeA. S. Alexander, *A Political History of the State of New York* (1906), II. 105-107.

¹⁰⁰ Paxson in *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, II. 9.

¹⁰¹ Tenny and Atwood, *Memorial Record of the Fathers of Wisconsin* (Madison, 1880), pp. 20-22; *Milwaukee Volksfreund*, December 30, 1847.

¹⁰² Ryan afterwards became a prominent jurist, and an honored chief justice of the state. It is worth while noticing that a number of young men, afterwards notable, were in touch at the outset of their careers with the radical movement in New York City. Among these may be mentioned John Bigelow, Theodore Sedgwick, jr., Horace Greeley, and Samuel J. Tilden.

appeared in a motion by Mr. Crawford (a native of Vermont who had long resided in St. Lawrence County, New York) that "all laws for the collection of debts shall forever be prohibited within this state".¹⁰³ This motion failed; but so radical in general were the features of the constitution as finally reported, that it was rejected by popular vote. It is interesting to notice that ex-Governor Nathaniel P. Tallmadge, erstwhile of New York, "was considered the commander-in-chief of the anti-constitutional forces".¹⁰⁴ The second convention was more of Hunker persuasion (re-enforced by Whig influence); and the constitution as finally adopted, especially in its comparatively moderate articles on banking and exemption, reflected in the main Locofocoism as modified by Hunker sentiment, a sentiment which was becoming more pronounced because wheat-raisers on the eastern shore were feeling the need of closer business relations with New York.¹⁰⁵

The Iowa conventions of the same period showed no such predominance of men from any one state as was the case in Wisconsin, though there was a considerable sprinkling of natives of New York. Yet here also appears the usual threefold division of Whigs, moderate Democrats, and radical Democrats; here also, as usual, questions of banking and incorporation are foremost; and here also we find employed the shibboleths of the New York ultra-radicals.¹⁰⁶

The assignment of definite origins to widely held opinions involves too much risk of error to let us infer with finality, from the above indications, that the frontier democracy of the upper Mississippi Valley in making its constitutions drew some of its major conceptions from the apostles of ultraism in New York City; but, on the other hand, we may at least raise the question whether the conceptions put forth in these instruments were to so great an extent indigenous as has been maintained.¹⁰⁷ The frontier truly was a

¹⁰³ The Locofocos had urged that debts should be only debts of honor and that credit should rest merely upon individual morality. Byrdsall, p. 149. This contention was later related to legal exemption, which was one of the subjects registering democratic advance in this period.

¹⁰⁴ Louise P. Kellogg, "The Admission of Wisconsin to Statehood", in vol. I. of a *Documentary Constitutional History of Wisconsin* [in press], edited by Milo M. Quaife and associates.

¹⁰⁵ The data for this paragraph have been derived for the most part from a large collection of materials for the history referred to in the preceding note. Superintendent Quaife kindly allowed me to consult this collection.

¹⁰⁶ Note the views and expressions of John C. Hall, an attorney, whose native state was New York. Benjamin F. Shambaugh, *Fragments of the Debates of the Iowa Constitutional Conventions*, pp. 72-73, 102, 188-191; also remarks of other members concerning banking, pp. 74-80.

¹⁰⁷ For example, by Professor Paxson in *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, II. 3, 4.

nursery of lusty and creative democracy; but of a democracy too busy, too individualistic, to be so well fitted for the slow and subtle processes of the *formulation* of social and political creeds as were older foci of population and opinion where life was more complex and mental contacts and collisions more frequent. As Professor Shambaugh, of Iowa, expressed it recently in conversation with the author in comment upon the constitutional movement in Iowa: "The frontiersman preferred to take his formulas ready-made and to fight for them, rather than go to the trouble of making them himself."

It is certain, at any rate, that New York City in the early thirties was a centre where the impacts of transformations fundamental in modern life were being deeply felt; that these transformations were reflected in divergences which developed within the Democratic party in 1837 and thereafter, with wide-reaching effects; and that chief among these effects was the promulgation of the formulations and spirit of the Locofoco propagandists. These voiced the ultra-idealism of the age¹⁰⁸—an idealism which, permeating the North with a renewed aggressive doctrine of the equality of mankind at the time when to a large degree the South was yielding to the theory of social stratification, helped to make the United States (and therefore perhaps the world) "safe for democracy".

WILLIAM TRIMBLE.

¹⁰⁸ The expression is akin to one quoted *ibid.*, p. 4.

THE EDUCATION OF HENRY ADAMS¹

IN 1771, Thomas Hutchinson wrote to one of his friends, "We have not been so quiet here these five years . . . if it were not for two or three Adamses, we should do well enough." From that day to this many people have agreed with the fastidious governor. But so far, an Adams or two we have always had with us; and on the whole, although they have sometimes been exasperating, they have always been salutary. During four generations the men of this family have loved and served America as much as they have scolded her. More cannot be said, except that they have commonly given, on both counts, more than they have received. Theirs is therefore the blessing, and ours the benefit.

Among other things, we have to thank them for some diaries and autobiographies which have been notable for frank self-revelation. Henry Adams would of course have stoutly denied that any such impertinence as self-revelation was either intended or achieved in the *Education*. There is no evidence that he ever kept a diary (all things considered, the burden of proof is not on us!); but it is not to be supposed that he would have published it in any case. A man who regarded himself as of no more significance than a chance deposit on the surface of the world might indeed write down an intimate record of his soul's doings as an exercise in cosmic irony; but the idea of publishing it could hardly have lived for a moment in the lambent flame of his own sardonic humor. He could be perverse, but perversity could not well go the length of perpetrating so pointless a joke as that would come to.

No, Henry Adams would not reveal himself to the curious inspection of an unsympathetic world; but he would write a book for the purpose of exposing a dynamic theory of history, than which nothing could well be more impersonal or unrevealing. With a philosophy of history the Puritan has always been preoccupied; and it was the major interest of Henry Adams throughout the better part of his life. He never gained more than a faint idea of any intelligible philosophy, as he would himself have readily admitted; but after a lifetime of hard study and close thinking, the matter struck him thus:

¹ *The Education of Henry Adams: an Autobiography* (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1918, pp. 519).¹

Between the dynamo in the gallery of machines and the engine-house outside, the break of continuity amounted to abysmal fracture for a historian's objects. No more relation could he discover between the steam and the electric current than between the Cross and the cathedral. The forces were interchangeable if not reversible, but he could see only an absolute *fiat* in electricity as in faith.

In these two forces the secret must lie, since for centuries faith had ruled inexorably, only to be replaced by electricity which promised to rule quite as inexorably. To find the secret was difficult enough; but

any schoolboy could see that man as a force must be measured by motion, from a fixed point. Psychology helped here by suggesting a unit—the point of history when man held the highest idea of himself as a unit in a unified universe. Eight or ten years of study had led Adams to think he might use the century 1150–1250, expressed in Amiens Cathedral and the Works of Thomas Aquinas, as the unit from which he might measure motion down to his own time, without assuming anything as true or untrue except relation. . . . Setting himself to the task, he began a volume which he mentally knew as “Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres: a Study in Thirteenth-Century Unity.” From that point he proposed to fix a position for himself, which he could label: “The Education of Henry Adams: a Study in Twentieth-Century Multiplicity.” With the help of these two points of relation, he hoped to project his lines forward and backward indefinitely, subject to correction from any one who should know better. Thereupon, he sailed for home.

You are to understand, therefore, that the *Education of Henry Adams* has nothing to do really with the person Henry Adams. Since the time of Rousseau,

the Ego has steadily tended to efface itself, and, for purposes of model, to become a manikin, on which the toilet of education is to be draped in order to show the fit or misfit of the clothes. The object of study is the garment, not the figure. . . . The manikin, therefore, has the same value as any other geometrical figure of three or four dimensions, which is used for the study of relation. For that purpose it cannot be spared; it is the only measure of motion, of proportion, of human condition; it must have the air of reality; it must be taken for real; it must be treated as though it had life. Who knows? Perhaps it had.

Whether it had life or not is, however, of no importance. The manikin is to be treated impersonally; and will be indicated throughout in the third person, not as the author's ego, but as a kind of projected and animated geometrical point upon which cosmic lines of force impinge!

It turns out that the manikin had life after all—a good deal of it; with the effect that as you go on you become more concerned with the manikin than with the clothes, and at last find yourself

wholly absorbed with an ego more subtle and complex, at times more exasperating, yet upon the whole more engaging, and above all more pervasive, than you are likely to come upon in any autobiography of modern times. It is really wonderful how the clothes fall away from the manikin, how with the best effort at draping they in fact refuse to be put on at all. The reason is simple; for the constant refrain of the study is that no clothes were ever found. The manikin is therefore always in evidence for lack of covering, and ends by having to apologize for its very existence. "To the tired student, the idea that he must give it up [the search for philosophy-clothes] seemed sheer senility. As long as he could whisper, he would go on as he had begun, bluntly refusing to meet his creator with the admission that the creation had taught him nothing except that the square of the hypotenuse of a right-angled triangle might for convenience be taken as equal to something else." On his own premises, the assumption that the manikin would ever meet his creator (if he indeed had one), or that his creator would be concerned with his opinion of the creation, is gratuitous. On his own premises, there is something too much of the ego here. The *Education of Henry Adams*, conceived as a study in the philosophy of history, turns out in fact to be an *Apologia pro vita sua*, one of the most self-centred and self-revealing books in the language.

The revelation is not indeed of the direct sort that springs from frank and insouciant spontaneity. Since the revelation was not intended, the process is tortuous in the extreme. It is a revelation that comes by the way, made manifest in the effort to conceal it, overlaid by all sorts of cryptic sentences and self-deprecatory phrases, half hidden by the protective coloring taken on by a sensitive mind commonly employing paradox and delighting in perverse and teasing mystification. One can never be sure what the book means; but taken at its face value the *Education* seems to be the story of a man who regarded life from the outside, as a spectator at the play, a play in which his own part as spectator was taken by a minor character. The play was amusing in its absurdity, but it touched not the spectator, Henry Adams, who was content to sit in his protected stall and laugh in his sleeve at the play and the players—and most of all at himself for laughing. Such is the implication; but I think it was not so. In the *Mont-Saint-Michel*² Adams speaks of those young people who rarely like the Romanesque. "They prefer the Gothic. . . . No doubt, they are right,

² *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres*, p. 7.

since they are young: but men and women who have lived long and are tired—who want rest—who have done with aspirations and ambitions—*whose life has been a broken arch*—feel this repose and self-restraint as they feel nothing else.” The *Education* is in fact the record, tragic and pathetic underneath its genial irony, of the defeat of fine aspirations and laudable ambitions. It is the story of a life which the man himself, in his old age, looked back upon as a broken arch.

One is not surprised that a man of Henry Adams’s antecedents should take life seriously; but no sane man, looking upon his career from the outside, would call it a failure. Born into a family whose traditions were in themselves a liberal education, Henry Adams enjoyed advantages in youth such as few boys have. It was at least an unusual experience to be able, as a lad, to sit every Sunday “behind a President grandfather, and to read over his head the tablet in memory of a President great-grandfather, who had ‘pledged his life, his fortune, and his sacred honor’ to secure the independence of his country”. This to be sure might not have been an advantage if it led the lad to regard the presidency as a heritable office in the family; but it was certainly a great deal to be able to listen daily, at his father’s table, to talk as good as he was “ever likely to hear again”. This was doubtless one of the reasons why he got (or was it only that it seemed so to him in his old age?) so little from Harvard College; but at any rate he graduated with honors, and afterwards enjoyed the blessed boon of two care-free years of idling and study in Germany and Italy. For six years, as private secretary to his father on one of the most difficult and successful diplomatic missions in the history of his country, he watched history in the making, and gained an inside knowledge of English politics and society such as comes to one young man in ten thousand. Returning to America, he served for a time as editor of the *North American*, and was for seven years a professor of history in Harvard College. During the last thirty-five years of his life, he lived alternately in Washington and Paris. Relieved of official or other responsibility, he travelled all over the world, met the most interesting people of his generation, devoted himself at leisure to the study of art and literature, philosophy and science, and wrote, as an incident in a long life of serious endeavor, twelve or fifteen volumes of history which by common consent rank with the best work done in that field by American scholars.

By no common standard does such a record measure failure. Most men would have been satisfied with the life he lived apart

from the books he wrote, or with the books he wrote apart from the life he lived. Henry Adams is commonly counted with the historians; but he scarcely thought of himself as one, except in so far as he sought and failed to find a philosophy of history. It is characteristic that in the *Education* he barely mentions the *History of the United States*. The enterprise, which he undertook for lack of something better, he always regarded as negligible—an episode in his life to be chronicled like any other. But it is safe to say that most of us who call ourselves historians, with far less justification, would be well content if we could count, as the result of a lifetime of effort, such a shelf full of volumes to our credit. The average professor of history might well expect, on less showing, to be chosen president of the Historical Association; in which case the prospect of having to deliver a presidential address might lead him to speculate idly in idle moments upon the meaning of history; but the riddle of existence would not greatly trouble his sleep, nor could it be said of him, as Henry Adams said of himself, that “a historical formula that should satisfy the conditions of the stellar universe weighed heavily upon his mind”. He would live out the remnant of his days, an admired and a fêted leader in the scholar’s world, wholly unaware that his life had been a cosmic failure.

The chief question which the *Education* presents to the critic is therefore this: why did Henry Adams look back upon his life, which to other men was so enviable in itself and so notable in its achievements, as a failure? Why should he have thought of it as a broken arch? The answer may possibly be found by inquiring what he had in mind when he spoke of “education”. That he did not use the term in the narrow sense of formal education may be taken as a matter of course. He disposes of his formal education by saying that he hated it, and that it never did him any good.³ But everything, as he often says, had value for education, if one could only find out what that value was; and the reader is inclined to dismiss the question by saying that for Henry Adams education and life were identical. In a sense this is true. The careful reader will nevertheless discover that one of two rather definite, quite different, yet fundamentally related conceptions was present in Adams’s mind when he used the term education: sometimes he conceives of education as that training and knowledge which would enable a man deliberately to identify himself and his work with the

³ He says that no professor in Harvard ever mentioned Karl Marx’s *Das Kapital* in his time; which was very likely true since Adams graduated in 1858 and *Das Kapital* was not published till 1867!

main "stream of tendency" of his time; at other times he conceives of education in a wider sense, as essentially identical with a scientific explanation of the social process, so that to be educated is to possess a philosophy which will solve the mystery of life.

It is the first of these conceptions which Adams has in mind when he says,

Perhaps Henry Adams was not worth educating; most keen judges incline to think that barely one man in a hundred owns a mind capable of reacting to any purpose on the forces that surround him, and fully half of these react wrongly. The object of education for that mind should be the teaching itself how to react with vigor and economy. No doubt the world at large will always lag so far behind the active mind as to make a soft cushion of inertia to drop upon, as it did for Henry Adams; but education should try to lessen the obstacles, diminish the friction, invigorate the energy, and *should train minds to react, not at haphazard, but by choice, on the lines of force that attract their world.*

This sort of education Adams felt that he never attained. He appeared to himself to have drifted through life, to have been shunted about, by circumstances which he could neither foresee nor control, from one track to another, with the result of arriving at stations which, however attractive they may have been, it was never his intention to reach. He went to Germany to study the civil law, without any good reason for so doing; he attended one lecture (one was enough!), and idled away two years in Germany and Italy, for no reason except that he did not know what he could do if he came home. He became his father's secretary in London because his father asked him to do so and nothing better offered. He returned after six years fully determined to enter journalism as the best road to the career of a political reformer. The prospect looked good, for like every one else he had great faith in Grant; but the announcement of Grant's cabinet, "within five minutes, changed his intended future into an absurdity so laughable as to make him ashamed of it. . . . He had made another total misconception of life—another inconceivable false start." He became a professor of history, without possessing any qualifications for the position, because his family and friends urged him to accept an offer that came out of a clear sky; and afterwards wrote history because that was the thing professors of history were supposed to do. Whatever he did or accomplished in life, he did by accident and not as the result of reasoned purpose.

Not only did Adams fail of that education which would have enabled him to react "by choice, on the lines of force" that attracted his world; he was never able to determine what sort of

education would have given him this power. He observed attentively the careers of his friends and of the notable men of his generation; but the reasons for their failures or successes were not to be found; why some men, such as W. C. Whitney, should have won all the prizes the age had to offer, while others, such as his friend King, should have failed, remained a mystery to the end.

Society had failed to discover what sort of education suited it best. Wealth valued social position and classical education as highly as either of these valued wealth, and the women still tended to keep the scales even. For anything Adams could see he was himself as contented as though he had been educated; while Clarence King, whose education was exactly suited to theory, had failed; and Whitney, who was no better educated than Adams, had achieved phenomenal success.

This was one aspect of the failure, that he had never been able to do anything which he deliberately set out to do. But the chief aspect of the failure was that, having done only those things which the accident of circumstances imposed upon him, the things he had done were in no way identified with the "lines of force" that attracted his age, and were therefore of negligible importance. Henry Adams's chief reason of discontent was that he had never been able to impress himself powerfully upon his time. He knew that he had as good ability, and better ability, than most men—he was well within the "one in a hundred" who were worth educating. He knew that he had written as good history as any one was likely to write; but he was quite sincere in saying that he "worked in the dark", and that he never could see that his history was worth the doing. One reason for this was that histories as commonly written, and as he had himself written them, led nowhere and explained nothing.

Historians undertake to arrange sequences—called stories, or histories—assuming in silence a relation of cause and effect. These assumptions, hidden in the depths of dusty libraries, have been astounding, but commonly unconscious and childlike; so much so, that if the capacious critic were to drag them to light, historians would probably reply, with one voice, that they had never supposed themselves required to know what they were talking about. Adams, for one, had toiled in vain to find out what he meant. He had even published a dozen volumes of American history for no other purpose than to satisfy himself whether, by the severest process of stating, with the least possible comment, such facts as seemed sure, in such order as seemed rigorously consequent, he could fix for a familiar moment a necessary sequence of human movement. The result had satisfied him as little as at Harvard College.

Later in life, when he had turned to science for an explanation

which he could not find in history, it seemed to him that, supposing Kelvin's law to be rigorously true, the professor of American history should "begin his annual course by announcing to his class that their year's work would be devoted to showing in American history 'a universal tendency to the dissipation of energy' and degradation of thought, which would soon end in making America 'improper for the habitation of man as he is now constituted.'"⁴ It must be admitted that professors of history do not commonly begin their courses in this way; but if this is indeed the proper way, Adams was quite right in supposing that his own histories were enterprises of no great significance.

But assuming that the method was good, Adams had another reason for being indifferent to his work as historian. He says that after having given ten or twelve years of serious labor to writing his history of Jefferson and Madison, he never had, so far as he could learn, more than three serious readers. No doubt this is not mathematically true; but from Adams's point of view, considering the population of the world, and the likelihood of his books ever having a decisive influence upon the course of civilization, the statement was relatively true. The point was that, whether his histories were good or bad, the world, or even America, would have been precisely what it was if the *History of the United States* had never been written. The point was that America would have been precisely what it was if Henry Adams had never lived. And Henry Adams was not content that it should be so. Henry Adams, son and grandson and great-grandson of men who had helped to shape the destiny of their country, precisely because he had had every advantage and was possessed of mental qualities that he knew to be first-rate should have been able, in any well-ordered universe with a decent regard for its needs and for the economy of its available resources, to make an adequate contribution to the sum of human achievements. With such advantages and such abilities, he should have figured as an outstanding influence, in no matter what line of endeavor—in politics, in finance, in art, in ideas. To have been merely the writer of books that gathered dust on the shelves, of books that, even if they had run to the thousandth edition, would not have made a dent on the shell of destiny—this was to be a failure, whatever the gild of professors might say. Such a man, having "shed his life-blood for the sublime truths of Sac and Soc", might well be forgotten under the epitaph: HIC JACET HOMUNCULUS

⁴ *A Letter to American Teachers of History*, p. 85.

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SCRIPTOR DOCTOR BARBARICUS HENRICUS ADAMS ADAE FILIUS ET
EVAE PRIMO EXPLICUIT SOCNAM.

Another grandson of John Quincy Adams closed his life with much the same sense of futility; and he too was much concerned, in his *Autobiography*, with the failure to obtain the education which he needed. But while Charles Francis Adams lays this failure to his father, Henry Adams places the responsibility upon the cosmos. Charles Francis knew precisely the education he should have had; he ought to have done those things which his father did not require him to do, and he ought not to have done those things which his father required him to do; he ought to have learned to play games; he ought to have gone to the public school; he ought—but the list is long. Henry Adams blamed no one, not even himself. He did not know what education he should have had, and no one could have told him. To the last day of his life he did not know. The whole thing was a cosmic riddle. How indeed could men be trained “to react, not at haphazard, but by choice, on the lines of force that attract their world”, if no one knew what those lines of force were? But to determine the lines of force that attract the world is the problem of all history; and so the question of education, in the last analysis, was identified in Henry Adams’s mind with an intelligible philosophy of history, a scientific explanation of the universe.

With this problem he was occupied from an early date, and during the later years it absorbed all his energies. His study of science, into which he delved as deeply as his knowledge of mathematics enabled him to do, his preoccupation with the dynamo and the Virgin—all this was no mere dilettante dabbling in curious and recondite matters; nor can we suppose him, after life was fairly done, to have traversed the dreary wastes of scholastic philosophy as an idle stunt, or for the academic satisfaction of constructing a neat formula within which the vagrant facts of history might be comfortably and amicably enclosed. He is indeed whimsical enough about it, and besprinkles himself liberally with the light showers of wit and sarcasm and delicious humor that everywhere fall upon the just and the unjust. But all this is mostly protective coloring; he laughs at himself that no one may suppose his own withers wrung, and forestalls sympathy in others by having none on his own account. At bottom he is engaged in a desperate endeavor to unravel the riddle of his own failure, to search out the heart of that mysterious force that made all his reasoned purposes futile and all his achievements vain. He never succeeded; and in the end he re-

garded the *Education* itself as a fragment, unfinished, avowedly incomplete, which might well remain unpublished and so be forgotten. And this too was part of the general failure. Not only had he failed to impress himself upon the life of his time; he had not even redeemed that failure by solving the mystery of it.

If this interpretation is in any measure true (one can never be sure), there was an element of tragedy in the life of Henry Adams. But in any case it is well concealed in the *Education* as it was in life. It is not likely that many readers will see the tragedy of a failure that looks like success, or miss the philosophy-clothes that were never found. And indeed we may all be well content with the doings of this manikin that turns out to be so lively an ego. Henry Adams was worth a wilderness of philosophies. Perhaps we should have liked the book better if he could have taken himself more frankly, as a matter of course, for what he was—a man of wide experience, of altogether uncommon attainments, of extraordinarily incisive mental power; and if, resting on this assumption, he had told us more directly, as something we should like to know, what he had done, what people he had met and known, what events he had shared in or observed, and what he thought about it all. This he does do of course, in his own enigmatic way, in the process of explaining where and how he sought education and failed to find it; and fortunately, in the course of the leisurely journey, he takes us into many by-paths and shows us, by the easy play of his illuminating intelligence, much strange country, and many people whom we have never known, or have never known so intimately. When this happens, when the manikin forgets itself and its education-clothes, and merely describes people or types of mind or social customs, the result is wholly admirable. There are inimitable passages, and the number is large, which one cannot forget. One will not soon forget the young men of the Harvard class of '58, who were "*negative to a degree that in the end became positive and triumphant*"; or the exquisitely drawn portrait of "Madame President", all things considered the finest passage in the book; or the picture of old John Quincy Adams coming slowly down-stairs one hot summer morning and with massive and silent solemnity leading the rebellious little Henry to school against his will; or yet the reflections of the little Henry himself (or was it the reflection of an older Henry?), who recognized on this occasion "that the President, though a tool of tyranny, had done his disreputable work with a certain intelligence. He had shown no temper, no irritation, no personal feeling, and had made no display of force. Above all, he had held his tongue."

Those who have read the *Autobiography* of Charles Francis Adams will note with interest that Henry had a much higher opinion of his father than his elder brother had, which may have been due to the fact that he knew him much better. The elder Charles Francis, he says,

possessed the only perfectly balanced mind that ever existed in the name. For a hundred years, every newspaper scribbler had, with more or less obvious excuse, derided or abused the older Adamses for want of judgment. They abused Charles Francis for his judgment. . . . Charles Francis Adams was singular for mental poise—absence of self-assertion or self-consciousness—the faculty of standing apart without seeming aware that he was alone—a balance of mind and temper that neither challenged nor avoided notice, nor admitted question of superiority or inferiority, of jealousy, of personal motives, from any source, even under great pressure. This unusual poise of judgment and temper, ripened by age, became the more striking to his son Henry as he learned to measure the mental faculties themselves, which were in no way exceptional either for depth or range. Charles Francis Adams's memory was hardly above the average; his mind was not bold like his grandfather's or restless like his father's, or imaginative or oratorical—still less mathematical; but it worked with singular perfection, admirable self-restraint, and instinctive mastery of form. Within its range it was a model. . . . He stood alone. He had no master—hardly even his father. He had no scholars—hardly even his sons.

The estimate is just, the analysis penetrating. For analysis, Henry Adams had indeed a master's talent; and we are especially grateful for his dissection of the senatorial mind in general, and of the minds of such particular senators as Seward and Sumner and Lodge. But he was equally good at surprising the secret of the group mind, and of all groups the one that interested him most was the English. For studying the English he had ample opportunity; and although, according to custom, he professes never to have fathomed that peculiar people, his observations are always interesting and often profound. Even where his opportunity was limited he made the most of it. The picture of a whole judicial generation is made vivid in the chance statement that he "never set eyes on a judge except when his father took him to call on old Lord Lyndhurst, where they found old Lord Campbell, *both abusing old Lord Brougham*". Nothing interested him more than English "society". What it was, he never knew—"one wandered about in it like a maggot in cheese; it was not a hansom cab, to be got into, or out 'of, at dinner time." He was much perplexed by Motley's remark that the London dinner and the English country house were "the perfection of human society". But after having

studied carefully and practised painfully what seemed to be the favorite accomplishment, he came to the conclusion that

the perfection of human society required that a man should enter a drawing-room where he was a total stranger, and place himself on the hearth-rug, his back to the fire, with an air of expectant benevolence, without curiosity, much as though he had dropped in at a charity concert, kindly disposed to applaud the performers and overlook mistakes. This ideal rarely succeeded in youth, and towards thirty it took a form of modified insolence and offensive patronage; but about sixty it mellowed into courtesy, kindliness, and even deference to the young which had extraordinary charm both in women and in men.

Upon mature reflection I cannot resist the temptation to quote the passage on being called a "begonia" by a United States senator, since it reveals Adams's genial irony at its best, as well as his opinion of senators—not by any means at its worst. Returning home from England on one occasion, he found that his article in the *North American* reviewing the last session of Congress, had been widely circulated by the Democrats as a campaign document. The inevitable reply was made by Senator Timothy Howe, of Wisconsin, who, besides refuting Adams's opinions,

did him the honor—most unusual and picturesque in a Senator's rhetoric—of likening him to a begonia. The begonia is, or then was, a plant of such senatorial qualities as to make the simile, in intention, most flattering. Far from charming in its refinement, the begonia was remarkable for curious and showy foliage; it was conspicuous; it seemed to have no useful purpose; it insisted on standing always in the most prominent positions. Adams would have greatly liked to be a begonia in Washington, for this was rather his ideal of the successful statesman, and he thought about it still more when the *Westminster Review* for October brought him his article on the Gold Conspiracy, which was also instantly pirated on a great scale. Piratical he was himself henceforth driven to be, and he asked only to be pirated, for he was sure not to be paid; but the honors of piracy resemble the colors of the begonia; they are showy but not useful. Here was a *tour de force* he had never dreamed himself equal to performing: two long, dry, quarterly, thirty or forty page articles, appearing in quick succession, and pirated for audiences running well into the hundred thousands; and not one person, man or woman, offering him so much as a congratulation, except to call him a begonia.

The number of passages one would wish to quote is legion; but one must be content to say that the book is fascinating throughout—particularly perhaps in those parts which are not concerned with the education of Henry Adams. Where this recondite and cosmic problem is touched upon, there are often qualifications to be made. The perpetual profession of ignorance and incapacity seems at times a bit disingenuous; and we have to do for the most part, not with the way things struck Adams at the time, but with the way

it seemed to him, as an old man looking back upon the "broken arch", they should have struck him. Besides, in the later chapters, in which he deals with the dynamic theory of history, the problem was so vague, even to himself, that we too often do not know what he wishes to convey. Apropos of the Chicago Fair, which like everything else in his later years linked itself to the business of the dynamo and the Virgin, he says: "Did he himself quite know what he meant? Certainly not! If he had known enough to state his problem, his education would have been completed at once." Is this the statement of a fact, or only the reflection of a perversity? We do not know. Most readers, at all events, having reached page 343, will not be inclined to dispute the assertion. Yet we must after all be grateful for this meaningless philosophy of history (the more so perhaps since it is meaningless); for without it we should never have had either the *Mont-Saint-Michel* or *The Education of Henry Adams*—"books which no gentleman's library" need contain, but which will long be read by the curious inquirer into the nature of the human heart.

Henry Adams lies buried in Rock Creek Cemetery, in Washington. The casual visitor might perhaps notice, on a slight elevation, a group of shrubs and small trees making a circular enclosure. If he should step up into this concealed spot, he would see on the opposite side a polished marble seat; and placing himself there he would find himself facing a seated figure, done in bronze, loosely wrapped in a mantle which, covering the body and the head, throws into strong relief a face of singular fascination. Whether man or woman, it would puzzle the observer to say. The eyes are half closed, in reverie rather than in sleep. The figure seems not to convey the sense either of life or death, of joy or sorrow, of hope or despair. It has lived, but life is done; it has experienced all things, but is now oblivious of all; it has questioned, but questions no more. The casual visitor will perhaps approach the figure, looking for a symbol, a name, a date—some revelation. There is none. The level ground, carpeted with dead leaves, gives no indication of a grave beneath. It may be that the puzzled visitor will step outside, walk around the enclosure, examine the marble shaft against which the figure is placed; and, finding nothing there, return to the seat and look long at the strange face. What does he make of it—this level spot, these shrubs, this figure that speaks and yet is silent? Nothing—or what he will. Such was life to Henry Adams, who lived long, and questioned seriously, and would not be content with the dishonest or the facile answer.

CARL BECKER.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

BACK TO PEACE IN 1865¹

ONE reason why so little public attention was given to human reconstruction and the social aspects of demobilization in 1865 was that the then dominant generation, blending the individualism of Jefferson, of Emerson, of Andrew Jackson, and of John Stuart Mill, believed that such problems were for individual solution. Doubtless shell-shock cases existed—we have most of us known veterans probably still suffering from the failure to treat it properly; undoubtedly there were economic and social hardships which might have been ameliorated—yet on the whole the individualistic method, modified by the humane neighborliness which equally characterized the Americans of the period, did result in the successful absorption of the veterans into civil life. No historian would, and no lay person should, however, deduce therefrom that such a system would work equally well to-day. No one can say whether our economic system is more or less elastic than it was, though the richness of the unexploited frontier of 1865 probably was a determining advantage; but at least the localization of the immediate effects of the war to our country rendered conditions strikingly different, and the distinctively war industries were less important.

Of course, no amount of individualism could prevent the government from having some policy and that policy from having some effect upon the situation. That policy was demobilization at the earliest possible time, by units, at the most convenient place for the unit as a whole. There was no attempt to pick out pivotal men, or to use the interval between peace and discharge for schooling.

¹ Professor Fish, now in London in charge of the interests there of the American University Union, sends this note with the following comment. [ED.]

"These notes are the result of a long-continued study of the problem of the absorption of the discharged soldiers of 1865 into the life of the community, each phase of it having been at some time a leading topic of seminar treatment for at least a year. It was my purpose to have condensed the whole into an article for the *Review*. Separated as I have been from my notes, this has been impossible, but I felt that, in view of the immediate importance of the subject, it might be worth while to present at this time some conclusions even without the evidence. It will be appreciated how much I am indebted to various members of my successive seminars, some of whom I hope will produce reasoned articles on subjects here touched upon."

Minor problems similar to those of to-day were constantly arising. The semi-jocular "grousing" of the soldiers in the different Union armies alarmed timid souls who feared to bring Grant's and Sherman's men to Washington together. Grant's detention and shifting of men to meet the Mexican situation and Indian difficulties was feared by some as having militaristic intent. There was, however, little important complaint of unfairness in dealing with the different units. By train, steamer, canal boat, and coach, in the order of importance given, a tidal wave swept northward in July and August, 1865, and in diminishing volume, petering out to a thin trickle during the remainder of that year and the first half of 1866, until June saw normal military conditions almost re-established. The Confederates, turned loose, like the prisoners from some of the German camps, but into a friendly countryside, wandered home on foot and horseback—and got there first.

The Confederate, however, arrived home penniless; the Union soldier with a real "wad". There were no allowances nor maintenance grants, with strings attached, but on account of undrawn pay, partially paid bounties, and other claims, varying sums, rather substantial, were paid the soldier on discharge. The official records show that final payments averaged about two hundred and fifty dollars. The press, letters, and diaries give character to this average. Chiefly we read of sums stolen from soldiers. In August, I note soldiers robbed of the following sums: \$318, \$130, \$300, \$570, \$175, \$450, \$250. One had \$800 taken when boarding the boat for home, one left \$550 on the floor of a street-car in Milwaukee, one lost \$250 in a saloon. One man sent \$409.14 to Secretary McCulloch, "it being his father's desire he should give his services to his country".

These sums specially mentioned are nearly all above the average, and the impression they create is probably the more correct, for many soldiers saved money from bounties and pay previously received, or received additional sums later. One man received \$200, but had saved \$250; two Indians in August, 1865, had \$600, received as bounty money, substitute service, and pay.

It is apparent that in thus providing a nest-egg, the government did something to assist the working of the individualistic method, for not all such possessions were stolen or disdained. The sums were sufficient not only to tide men over a period of looking for work, but even to allow them an independent start in life. In authenticated instances, a veteran used his money to attend the University of Wisconsin, and others to buy farms. A small amount

of money in 1865 smoothed a good deal of rough road. Similar sums in the hands of Southern soldiers might have gone far to quicken the economic recovery of that section, whose brave sons received, from their states, good artificial limbs, to replace such as they might have lost, but nothing more.

The striking economic difference between the North and South, however, was in the number of new jobs awaiting the returned soldier in the former. Had they wished it, all could have had farms in the West, and the world would have consumed the products thereof. In fact, between 1865 and 1870, over two hundred thousand new farms were opened in the region of the Upper Mississippi, and nearly one hundred thousand in the valley of the Missouri. The relation of such facts to the soldier returning with money in his pocket is obvious; so obvious that it has been exaggerated. It is true that four years of out-of-door life makes indoor confinement irksome for a time, and so impels some to farming. This is, however, almost purely a physical condition that disappears. The further argument that war develops a spirit of roving and adventure is just about as true as the reverse statement. Adventure is for the adventurous, and more go to such wars as our Civil War and this Great War, than the lovers of adventure; as many react to peace and quietness and home, as to wandering. Many of these farms were opened up by soldiers, and some by those who would not have done so, had there been no war, but the number of farms opened was probably not very different from what it would have been had there been no war, nor was the personnel of the pioneers probably different in any very large measure. Equally important was the simultaneous expansion of manufacturing, which in the case of six great industries created in the same period three hundred and sixty thousand new jobs.

For tracing the actual soldier to the particular job, the censuses of neither the United States, nor of particular states, afford data. It is still possible to secure some information by personal interview, but the method that proved most profitable was based on the use of biographical material, particularly those biographies found in county histories, which, lacking the candor of the *Spoon River Anthology*, still can be relied upon for certain classes of formal facts. Such a study deals with thousands instead of millions, and to complete it would be a Herculean task; but the results are fact and not conjecture, and so some gleanings are presented as to occupations immediately before and after army service.

Of 275 cases of New Yorkers studied, 168 took up their old

business or something similar and 107 entered different businesses, but of this latter number, twenty-two had been "at home". Long service somewhat increased the tendency to shift; of those serving four or more years, fifty-four returned to their old occupations, forty-eight changed; of the three-year men, sixty-six returned and thirty-six shifted; of two-year men, twenty-nine returned and ten changed; of those who were in the army one year or less, nineteen returned to their old life, thirteen sought new fields. Of farmers and farm laborers, sixty-eight returned to the farm, twenty-two sought other occupations, this being almost a dead loss to agriculture, as only eight went into farming from another occupation. Twenty-four doctors clung to their profession, the only wanderers being five who obtained political positions. The next largest class is particularly significant; fourteen students became students again, eleven went into business, and to the fourteen were added twelve not previously listed as students, being more than went into any other single new occupation, except politics which took fourteen.

Light on perhaps a slightly different stratum of soldier-citizens is thrown by their applications for positions in the *New York Herald* for August, 1865. Of ninety-eight advertising, only six mention experience; seventeen wished to be clerks, sixteen porters, nine drivers, and so on in diminishing numbers, to one who wished to be a horn-player in a band, and one an interpreter of Italian; sixteen were willing to receive any offer.

Wisconsin, with a narrower range of industries, was more conservative. Of 361 men, 259 returned to their old occupation, 102 sought new, including ten who had not previously been employed. Here long service counted even more than in New York to wean men away from their old life. Of the four-year veterans, almost half sought new fields; of the three-year men, not quite a quarter; of the two-year men, about a fifth; of the yearlings, less than a sixth. Farming held 141, lost thirty-two, and gained thirteen. The doctors remained solid. Students again were relatively numerous and tenacious: eight continued; eight dropped systematic study; ten became students, having previously been farmers, lumbermen, teachers, harness-makers, and three "at home". Law held its own better than in New York, where twelve returned, five departed, and only one entered the profession, for in Wisconsin eleven returned and only one departed. Lumbering, always a shifting occupation, called six back, lost nine, and gained eight.

Iowa was an agricultural frontier state, one of those that attracted the discharged soldier. It afforded unusual opportunities

for study, about fifteen hundred cases being examined. These were divided into those of Iowa soldiers, about a thousand, and ex-soldiers who came to Iowa from other states, about five hundred. The former were unusually conservative, about eight in ten returning to their former occupation, one changing and one having been too young for occupation before entering service. Length of service made little difference to these men: 443 went back to farms; only forty-one farmers changed occupation; thirty-eight changed to farming, and fifty-one boys entered farming. The professions, generally undermanned in frontier states, held all their members, except that one doctor became a minister. Ninety students stuck to their books; nine became at once lawyers and doctors, seven dropped their studies, and three took up study. Twenty-one men unsettled before the war became settled; ten remained unsettled; twelve became unsettled. A significant decadence was that in teaching, which held only two, gained one, and lost eleven.

Naturally, those who came to the state were of a more changeable character; about three in five returned to their occupations, one in five changed, and one in five was too young to have had an occupation. Length of service here had something to do with the breaking of occupational habits, but not as much as in New York and Wisconsin, probably owing to the dominating importance of agriculture. About one-third of the four-year men changed, one-fourth of the three- and one-year men, and one-third of the two-year men. Farming was the great attraction, but it attracted chiefly farmers. As I remarked the other day to an Englishman who said that English farmers, unlike those of America, did not need agricultural colleges because they could learn from their fathers, the ancestors of the majority of American farmers have been of that trade, if not from the days of Adam, at least from the time agriculture began. One hundred and seventy-seven continued tillage on new farms; twenty-six farmers became bankers, merchants, book-keepers, confectioners, carpenters, coopers, ticket agents, railroad men, and so forth, while thirty-three ex-teachers, ditchers, miners, teamsters, lumbermen, merchants, engineers, and so forth, became farmers, as did sixty-one who were too young to have had previous occupation. Doctors and lawyers for the most part continued practice, but ministers on wandering became "unsettled", and teachers tended to buy farms. Carriage-makers and blacksmiths generally found employment at their old trades; forty-five students continued study; thirty-five dropped school, of whom twenty-two became doctors, lawyers, and teachers. A circus performer became a travelling

salesman; a photographer became a farmer; stone-masons, marble-cutters, carpenters, druggists, horse-dealers, and dentists, for the most part found their talents of use in meeting the obvious needs of their new community.

It was not, however, men alone who had been mobilized. All through the West, travellers in war-time had seen the sight, unfamiliar in America, of women working in the fields, and in the factory districts they had replaced men in all kinds of services, not to the extent to which they have in Great Britain in this war, but to a greater extent than they have in America. The substantial records of American opinion and conditions stride forward with fixed steps, by congresses, administrations, and decennial censuses, disregarding irregular pulsations, and so no quantitative measure, such as a census even as unreliable as that of 1870 would give, exists. That census, indeed, compared with the one in 1860, with small exceptions, knows these women not. Fortunately, statistics collected in Massachusetts and New York in 1865 give a partial memorial of their activity. A comparison of these figures with those of 1860 and 1870 shows that women for the most part dropped out of occupations previously unusual for them (with the exception of two), when the men returned. On the farms the women quietly returned to kitchen and dairy, in towns they re-established homes or swelled the ranks in the usual feminine fields. In the case of school-teaching, however, they clung to the positions formerly held by men, which they had secured, creating a familiar and characteristic American condition. For reasons less obvious, they remained in large numbers, also, in the printing shops, to which Benjamin Franklin had long before commended them.

The total effect of the war on the position of women was indeed marked, curious, and complex, but in so far as the great majority of those called suddenly into new occupations was concerned, they became demobilized with the men.

The question of children in industry is even more difficult, for no census before 1870 recorded their industrial pursuits. This might seem an evidence that the problem of child labor had assumed a new importance, but it might merely mean that the public conscience was newly aroused. Certainly we know that the problem was not altogether new, and that American children had worked, both in a wholesome way about the home and farm, and many of them in unwholesome factories. The only method of getting at comparative figures has seemed to be by comparison of proportions of school attendance in 1860 and 1870, for which statistics of vary-

ing reliability and significance exist for all the northern states. These figures are indeed striking. Only two states, Wisconsin and Vermont (or Connecticut) show increases, all the others show decreases, often startling. When one considers that the later date is 1870, when the more immediate results of the war had passed away, and when one considers also the figures which show the naturally expected deficiency in the actual number of children born in the war years, one realizes the awful cost of the war in stunting the new generation.

As to the habits, and the spiritual and the physical condition of the men demobilized, one can judge only by evidences still less direct. The men did learn to wear ready-made clothes; they did not become militaristic in their ideas. No generation has existed in the United States so fundamentally opposed to war and to territorial expansion; never before was the army brought down to so small a percentage of the population, so little attention given to the militia, and the navy allowed so rapidly to dwindle away; the military training so toilsomely acquired was used chiefly to make political processions gay. Some did become unsettled and lawless, but the attempt to proportion the amount of disorder between that resulting from frontier characteristics, and that from the war, is apparently quite futile. The overwhelming majority settled down to the quiet life of ordinary citizens, except that some greater proportion than usual felt, as did Dr. Johnson's interlocutor, that the world, or more particularly the country, owed them a living. In disregard of property-rights, and particularly of the sanctity of public property, there was, perhaps, some unusual laxity in the later career of the Civil War generation; and it is quite arguable that this may have been a result of war conditions, with the waste and plunder of government stores that was so wide-spread, and the pillaging which occasionally marked the advance of armies. Rape had been extremely uncommon, and of other such immoral practices as entailed physical degeneration, the reticence of that mid-Victorian period allowed small evidence to survive. The extent of the advertisements of venereal remedies, however, often running to nearly half the advertising space even in reputable papers, alone shows that the problem existed, while public opinion forbade effective measures for handling it. Nor was the régime of the camps such as to instill any offsetting sanitary habits of life. Bathing and real cleanliness remained matters of personal desire, and of inheritance, though a general feeling for a greater spruceness of appearance than had been characteristic of American men may be traced to

military inspection. Feeding continued to be a matter of abundance, put away in haste, with some modifications through the replacement of individual preparation by ready-to-eat concoctions, whose ingredients were to remain long unsupervised by law.

Certainly army life between 1861 and 1865 had much less relation to normal life than army life of to-day. Special services were few, and the soldierly routine was largely a matter of the manual of arms. It is as yet uncertain how effective the attempts to introduce civilian education into the camps will be, but, with the pervasive scope of modern war, a large proportion of the soldiers of to-day have had to study, have acquired the power of mental concentration, and very often have laid a practical foundation for some craft which may serve them afterwards. The boys of 1861 carried away from the army little except a certain physical responsiveness and a habit of discipline. Yet one by-product of war experience was probably not without national significance. The Civil War armies were large and the administrative problems involved in handling them developed the talent of many of those who were the instruments in transforming the United States in a single generation from a nation with an industrial life relatively very simple, to one well in the van of our modern, complex, economic civilization.

One of the tragedies of the Civil War is that the army that saved the Union retained, or, more correctly, after having been dissolved into the commonwealth for fifteen years, regained its self-consciousness chiefly through its efforts to secure what it considered an adequate reward for its services. Mild, indeed, and little menacing to the state as was its activity compared with that of many another victorious soldiery, it had an effect undeniably bad on the politics of the eighties and nineties, and it cooled, in the minds of many, the gratitude which should have warmed the last years of the veterans. That the total amount of pensions obtained was greatly in excess of the amount that the country should have paid and could afford to pay, is doubtful, but it was paid at a time when it served merely to smooth the difficulties of old age, instead of fitting for life, and it was so evenly distributed among those who needed and those who did not, that it seldom served as a strong door in cases where there was a real wolf. Much can doubtless be done to prevent a recurrence of such a situation, if the community, without waiting to be urged, adopts a generous plan, based on a broad conception of social obligation. Fundamentally, however, the best hope that the conscious influence of our new veterans may be directed along constructive lines, rests in the difference in the

public aims of the two wars. Those of the Civil War may be expressed in negative terms, that the Union should not be dissolved, and that slavery should be abolished. By 1868, at least, these objects had been attained.

The present war, at it has impressed itself on the American mind, has more resembled that of the Revolution, where the object was not only separation from Great Britain, but the founding of a new nation. As the veterans of that war found their task one that continued with scarcely abated interest their life long, so the veterans of this war, it may be hoped, will continue to throw their weight, united on the battle-field to overthrow the German imperial system, still united into the task of guarding a new world organization through its critical period.

CARL R. FISH.

DOCUMENTS

Diary and Memoranda of William L. Marcy, 1849-1851

For many years the papers of William Learned Marcy were in the possession of his heirs and were not open to historical investigators. Marcy was twice married. His first wife was Dolly Newell of Southbridge, Massachusetts, to whom he was married in September, 1812. She died in Troy, New York, on March 6, 1821, leaving two sons, William G. and Samuel. William L. Marcy's second wife was Cornelia Knower of Albany, whom he married about 1825. Samuel Marcy married Eliza M. Humphreys. Four children were born to them; the second child, Edith, married Charles Stillman Sperry, a lieutenant in the United States Navy, who rose to the rank of rear-admiral.

The Marcy papers were originally collected by Mr. George Newell, a brother of William L. Marcy's first wife, his intention being to write a life of his distinguished brother-in-law. Owing to Mr. Newell's death the project was never carried out. The papers passed into the hands of the Knower family and were preserved by John Knower, a brother of William L. Marcy's second wife. He kept them at his residence near the Manhattan Club in New York City. After John Knower's death, the papers passed into the keeping of his nephew, Benjamin Knower, and were taken by him to Scarborough, New York. After the death of Benjamin Knower, in 1904, the documents were sent to the wife of Rear-Admiral Charles Stillman Sperry and were kept in the vault of the War College at Newport, Rhode Island. They remained there until 1914 when Mrs. Sperry had a wooden chest and a cow-hide trunk which contained the more valuable papers sent to her at Boulder, Colorado, where she now resides with her son, Charles S. Sperry, a professor in the University of Colorado. In 1915 Mrs. Sperry and her son deposited most of these papers, as a loan, in the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress. For personal reasons they retained three diaries. Through their kindness the *Review* is allowed to publish the portions of these diaries which have general historical interest.

In addition to the Marcy documents in the Library of Congress and the diaries, Mrs. Sperry has informed me that a trunk contain-

ing contemporary newspapers and pamphlets collected by William L. Marcy is on deposit in a warehouse in Brooklyn. Mrs. Sperry also told me that a portrait of her grandfather hung for many years on the walls of the Clarendon Hotel in New York, the property of the proprietor. This she has not seen since 1888, and she is not certain that it is still in existence.

THOMAS MAITLAND MARSHALL.

[In the Marcy Papers in the Library of Congress, volume XVIII., bound at the end of the year 1850, is a memorandum, alluded to by Marcy in the Diary contributed by Professor Marshall, and bearing the title "Washington revisited". Apparently written in the spring of 1850, it is supplemented by "Further remarks on General Taylor made after his death", intended to be inserted in the memorandum preceding. It has been thought appropriate to add these two compositions to the portion of the Diary here printed.

In volume LXXVII. of the Marcy Papers in the Library of Congress are fragments of diary of the years 1831, 1833, 1835, 1836, 1839, 1843, 1844, 1849-1851, and 1857. Marcy at various places confesses to not being industrious in the matter of keeping a diary, and the sum total of all this matter, added to what Mrs. Sperry possesses, does not make anything approaching a continuous record, but still remains a series of fragments. Those in the Library of Congress relating to 1857 form something like a continuous record from March 3 to April 18 of that year, but in the main duplicate a series possessed by Mrs. Sperry, which will be presented as a second installment, in our next number. The Library fragments from 1831 to 1851, together with the portions of Mrs. Sperry's series not here extracted, relate almost entirely to personal matters, and are mostly records of Marcy's reading. Marcy was a well-educated man (A.B. Brown University 1809), and his reading was extensive and varied, though desultory. Beaumont and Fletcher, Milton and Hooker, *Hudibras* and Pope and Dryden, Thomas à Kempis and Thomas Fuller, Montesquieu, and Wordsworth's *Prelude* and *Excursion*, figure in the pages of his Diary, with critical comments which, while nowise profound nor deserving of preservation in print, are those of an attentive and appreciative reader. The comments on politics, as will be seen, were mostly written on two occasions, when leisure followed immediately upon release from laborious Cabinet posts, namely, in March, 1849, when Marcy's period of service as Secretary of War in Polk's Cabi-

net came to an end, and in March, 1857, when he ceased to be Secretary of State in the Cabinet of Pierce. It is believed that the comments on public affairs which he makes at those two periods will have a considerable interest and value to historical students.

It will be seen that Marcy was a careless writer, but it has not been deemed necessary to correct obvious errors, though small changes of punctuation, in the interest of intelligibility and uniformity, have been thought allowable. Ed.]

1849, Dec. 3d. On this day assembles the *Thirty first* Congress of the U. S. and in effect now is the beginning of Genl Taylor's Administration. Though he has been in Office nine month[s], it can not be said that he has indicated clearly and responsibly the policy by which he intends his adm. shall be marked. When he was before the people for election his name and fame as a soldier awakened some enthusiasm in his favor—enough to be the cause of his Success; but it soon vanished. Two causes contributed to the sudden subsidence of the popular feeling in his favor. His military character was discovered to be in a great measure accidental and without any collateral sustaining qualities. All of him as a general is comprised in two words—*personal courage*. Of his profession he knew not more than most, and much less than some of the officers of his lineal grade, Colonel. As he had lived more than fifty years without learning much of military matters, it was not reasonable to believe that he could learn much by the experience of the favorable command which was given him in the War with Mexico. In that war he did excellently for himself and fairly well for the Country—much better than I should have anticipated if I had known him as well as I now do. I did much to give him his command and am naturally inclined to justify the judiciousness of the selection. Thus far he has shown himself destitute to a lamentable degree of the qualifications of a State[s] man; nor does it appear that he has sufficient capacity to have made one if he had had a favorable training. The shameless violation of his pledges made while he was a[i]ming at the Presidency hardly allow us in charity to regard him as an honest, yet less as an honorable, man. As his administration progresses it will probably appear more clearly what he is. Now he is considered to be in pupilage and directed, by the good luck which favored him in his military command, for he has selected or had dictated to him, a cabinet which as yet has shown no ability. There has been so much disappointment as to him and them that they will be extremely fortunate if they recover the ground they have lost. In this book I intend to note political events as they occur and make such reflections thereon as naturally and obviously arise simultaneously with their occurrence.

7th Dec. Our last news from Washington is the proceedings of yesterday rec'd by Telegraph. The house not yet organized. Of course no message yet. The trouble grows out of the slavery question, which is more threatening now than it has been at any other time.

Up to this day 13th. Decr. we have not yet heard that a Speaker is

elected yet the complexion of the latest news leads to a hope that our next information will announce that fact. . . .¹

Dec. 15. The contest for Speaker in Congress is not yet brought to a close or was not at the date of the last advices from Washington. W. J. Brown of Ind'a came within a few votes of an Election; but a discovery was made showing that he had been tampering with the Free-soilers (D. Wilmot etc.) which reflected disgrace on both.² I thought it strange that such a man as Brown who was the least likely of any man of my acquaintance in Congress to be thought on for that situation should receive such a vote as he did after his name had been brought forward. B. naturally is a fair and upright man but the prospect of the Speakership seems to have dazzled his moral vision (probably not very strong) and led him to a course which will forever tarnish his reputation. That he did not realize the position in which he placed himself by his letter to Wilmot is very certain. I regret the occurrence on account of its effect upon the character of B. but still more for the effect it is likely to have on the general interests of the democratic party. It will I fear tend to aggravate the feeling of alienation between the north and South, not only generally but among democrats. The freesoilers will lose by the steps. So far it is well.

1850, May 11. It is very strange that after such a firm resolve to continue my memoranda I should have omitted any entry in this book for nearly five months. For nearly two months previous to my departure for Washington I was employed as my Diary will show. Tho I read some every day it was casual reading and nothing occurred worth a more extended notice than that made in my Journal. About the middle of February I left home for W. where I remained until towards the first of May. I promised myself when I left home that I would note the reflections which arose in my mind on revisiting W. and accompany them with observations on the men and the events which might fall under my particular notice. The caption of the *Remarks* I have fixed on, which is "*Washington revisited*", and as yet I have done nothing more towards executing my resolution. Perhaps I never shall.³ It will be a shame to me if I do not. My object in going to W. was to assist Mr. J. H. C. in preparing some arguments to be laid before the Com'rs on Mexican claims.⁴ This engagement took up most of the time I spent there. I did not however intermit my usual course of desultory reading. . . .

¹ The Democrats had nominated Howell Cobb of Georgia, the Whigs Robert C. Winthrop of Massachusetts. After the thirty-ninth ballot Winthrop withdrew from the contest. W. J. Brown of Indiana, who from the thirty-second ballot on had received the largest number of Democratic votes, on the fortieth (December 12) received 112 votes, only two less than the number necessary for a choice.

² Brown's letter to Wilmot, December 10, promising that if elected Speaker he would constitute the committees on the District of Columbia, on Territories, and on the Judiciary, in such manner as would be satisfactory to Wilmot and his friends, is in the *Congressional Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 sess., p. 22.

³ The fragment found among Marcy's papers, bearing the title named, is printed at the end of this section of the Diary.

⁴ Commissioners appointed under arts. XIV. and XV. of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Moore, *International Arbitrations*, pp. 1248-1286. "Mr. J. H. C." was apparently J. H. Caustin, who was counsel for many of the claimants.

Congress adjourned on 30. Sept. after a boisterous session of ten months. We have experienced the greatest political storm that ever fell upon the country and it will be an epoch in our history. Whether it is entirely passed I know not. Tho' the waves are yet tossing about I hope—I believe the agitating cause is removed. Clay and Webster have acted like patriots in this crisis and as each is near the end of his political career it may be regarded as the crowning act of their pol. life. The slavery agitation I hope is now and forever put to rest. Its recent effects upon the old party organization are worthy of consideration and ought to be traced with more fullness and particularity than I propose to do it—perhaps more so than I am able to trace them. The federalists—whigs—or whatever they are called or call themselves have been out of power in the general govt since 1801, most of the time. Their ascendancy whenever it has happened has been the result of accidental causes. It was natural in their situation that they should resort to expedients in-order to prevail over their opponents; this they have done whenever a tempting occasion offered for nearly a half of a century. The southern states being mostly democratic their peculiar institution—slavery—was naturally by their political adversaries—the federalists—looked upon with disfavor. Some of the federalists rushed into the arms of abolition but as a party they stopped short of that extreme, but they ever entertained strong oppugnation to slavery and committed some aggressions on the institution. Their course secured to their party the benefit of the anti-slavery feeling in the free states—but they so adroitly managed the matter as to secure the cooperation of the opponents of the democracy in the slave states.

Acting as I fully believe under a resentful feeling arising from disappointment in failing to be nominated for Prest. in 1844, Mr. V. B.⁵ took stronger ground than even the federalists on the slavery questions which arose or were likely to arise in consequence of Mexican territorial acquisitions and thereby brought confusion and defeat upon the democratic party in this state and I think I am warranted to say in the Union. The Whigs greatly rejoiced at our divisions as well they might for they reaped a rich harvest by it.

The slavery agitation was just the thing that scheming politicians thought a source of popularity. Those of this character among the Whigs were determined to avail themselves of it and labored to their utmost to prevent the settlement of the disturbing questions which had arisen on this subject. The democrats generally went for the settlement, so did a part of the whigs.

Enough of them united with the democrats to secure the passage of the several compromise bills. The settlement of these is generally well received by the democratic party in the free states where the attempt to organize a freesoil party had failed; but it is likely to lay the foundation of a serious division among the whigs. In this state the continuance of the agitation was considered as of vital importance because it would be an obstacle to the Union of the democratic party—a measure undertaken last year and now in the progress of successful completion.

Senator Seward with a majority of the whig members of congress from this state opposed the compromise bills but thirteen of our delegates supported them and President Fillmore approved the bills and it is

⁵ Van Buren.

understood that he and his cabinet urged their passage. When the whig convention met last week⁶ it appeared there was, as it was reasonable to expect there would be, an embarrassing question before it. Fillmore and his friends in this state, which I shall call the whig adm'n, wished to have their course endorsed by the convention and if that could not be done, and as they were likely to be in the minority the[y] feared it could not, they wished the proceedings should be such as should not censure directly or impliedly the course they had taken. On the other hand Seward and Sixteen whig M. C. from this state had persisted in an ultra course on the slavery questions and their political position was perilous unless the party here stood by them. Their friends were determined to have them endorsed by the convention but this could not be done without an implied censure of the adm. party and the course of Prest. F. The Seward party had the power to carry out their policy and they did so after refusing what they ought to have regarded as a fair compromise. On the passage of resolutions distinctly approving the course of Mr. S. the Chairman of the Con[vention] Mr. Granger⁷ with several other Delegates—about forty in number—seceded, organized, proposed the call of another Whig State convention of the friends of the administration and opponents of Seward and published an address setting forth the grounds of their secession. This convention is to assemble at Utica in 17. Oct. So the matter stands at this date 2. Oct.

Oct. 24th. Though a long time has passed since I annotated I will first speak of what relates to my former closing remarks. The seceders convention met on the 17. inst. They did not, as I anticipated they would not, make a separate ticket but in fact concurred in that made at Syracuse. They have rather laid the foundation of a future division in the whig party than made one at this time. They have prepared to block the game of Seward and it appears to me they have effectually done it. By inaction only can S. and his friends avoid defeat and overthrow in this state. I think that the Whigs will not only not be injured in the approaching election by the cou[r]se of the Seceders or administration portion of them, but probably come out in greater strength than if there had been not scessn among them. The ticket seems to be acceptable to both sections; particularly the candidate for Gov'r⁸ who is almost the only man on whom both sections would have cordially united. In truth he is a strong candidate. He is in favor with the Antirenters and has been adopted by them. Tho he in a very cautious and guarded manner refuses to accept their nomination, I think his refusal is so qualified as not to drive them from his support. He also stands well with the business and moneyed men in N. Y. Weed and Seward have for years been skilfully manoeuvring for the Irish votes and have succeeded quite well in their measures; undoubtedly a larger number of that class will go with the Whigs at the next election than hitherto. Mr. H. when in Congress showed somewhat of the demagogue in moving an appropriation of \$500,000, for the relief of Ireland

⁶ The Whig state convention had met at Syracuse on September 27. Barnes, *Thurlow Weed*, II. 186-187.

⁷ Francis Granger, postmaster-general under Harrison, leader of the "Silver Grays".

⁸ Washington Hunt.

some years ago when that country was in a partial state of starvation.⁹ Congress had no constitutional right to grant such relief yet pending an election it would not do to agitate that question. In consequence of that movement Mr. H. will find favor with the Irish voters to a greater extent than any other candidate that could have been selected from the Whigs.

Another matter will strengthen the whig cause in this state at the approaching Election—the excitement which has been got up on the Fugitive Slave Law. The freesoilers of our party go into this measure of agitation. Tho the whigs were in power when the law was passed, in this state they generally denounce it and it is enlisting considerable opposition, and they are ingeniously availing themselves of it to benefit their cause. The seceding section are however at war with them on this subject and to some extent that fact will neutralise the effects of the excitement. The Whigs are in my opinion in a far better state of organization than the democrats in this state and all things considered have the best chance for success. The abolitionists who are pretty numerous will generally vote the whig ticket. The whigs will have less confusion on the local tickets than I expected—perhaps less than the democrats, for in the ranks of the latter there yet remains considerable diversity of opinion and each section have evinced great anxiety to secure candidates of their own peculiar sentiments. The pressure of the election is bringing the party somewhat together yet there is and will be as much rankling [wrangling?] among them as among the whigs—So I fear the result of the coming election will show. . . .

Nov. 3, 50. Since the last entry was made—more than a week ago—I have been engaged in business in relation to the C. bank,¹⁰ and it is yet unfinished. My reading has been less in quantity and perhaps more disultory than usual. No particular subject has engaged my attention. Though an election is at hand I have written nothing for publication or rather nothing that has been published. There is a great deal of cross firing in this contest, and it is difficult to avoid topics that may do injury in some quaters. It is so difficult to determine what to say that I have said nothing.

The confusion in the Whig ranks is more apparent than it was ten days ago. There is among the two sections deep seated hostility which is partially kept under for the present but it will break forth after the election, be the result what it may. In the ranks of the dem. party there is discontent but less of it now than among their opponents. I doubt our success but have better hopes than I had a week ago. The great union Meeting held about one week since in Castle garden¹¹ was an important movement for the well-being of the country and what is of less importance, yet it is important, to the dem. party. It has struck a severe, if not a fatal blow, to two mischievous factions—*abolitionists* and *anti-renters*.

⁹ Bill introduced by Hunt, February 10, 1847. *Cong. Globe*, 29 Cong., 2 sess., p. 377.

¹⁰ The Canal Bank of Albany, then in the hands of a receiver by reason of peculations.

¹¹ A "union meeting" held in Castle Garden, New York City. It was a combination of Democrats and administration Whigs, opposing Seward and Weed and calling for vigorous enforcement of the fugitive slave law.

The whigs being as a general thing more unscrupulous than democrats have heretofore so manoeuvred as to profit more than their opponents by all irregular action in political affairs. The feeling in N. Y. is strong against both abolitionism and anti-rentism and was embodied and uttered in a potential voice by the vast assemblage at C. Garden. There is as things now appear a fair chance that the Whig candidate for Gov'r (Hunt) may lose in N. Y. nearly as many whig votes as he will get dem. votes in the antirent counties. If so the game which has been plaid in his behalf for the antirent votes will not prove to have been a wise one and certainly it is not an honest one. Three day[s] will put an end to all speculation. . . .

Nov. 10. It is just one week since I made the last entry in this book. During that week a state election has taken place,—an election of more than usual importance. Its exact result is not yet ascertained. Whether Seymour, Dem., or Hunt, Whig, is elected is yet left in uncertainty.¹² The legislature is whig. This will secure to that party a whig Senator in Congress in the place of D. S. Dickinson who has nobly done his duty in the Senate of the U. S. A combination of causes has led to this result. The division in the dem. party which two years ago clave it into two nearly equal parts though partially healed yet disturbs its action. The relicts of that feud still linger in its system and manifested itself in respect to the assembly more obvi[ously] than in any other way. A great number who were prominent in the 'barnburner' faction were determined that Dickinson should not be returned to the U. S. [Senate] and the more rabid among them were in favor of sending J. V. B.¹³ in his place, and if they could not do that preferred the election of a whig to the reelection of Dickinson. J. V. B. was justly obnoxious to the true democrats as Dickinson was to the leaders of the faction of barnburners. Our success was periled by the disproportionate number of Freesoilers on the local tickets particularly for members of the assembly.

In regard to members of congress we have done better. The delegation is divided between the Dem. and Whigs—Seventeen of each. In these there is also a subdivision on both sides—Union Whigs and Free-soil Whigs, national dem. and free soil democrats. The dem. have gained fifteen members. In the present congress we have but two. Indeed correctly speaking but one; for P. King¹⁴ is not in truth a democrat; he is in action an abolitionist and would break up the union for the sake of a few run away negros. Yet neither he or J. V. B. care for negros. They are both playing an unpatriotic political game. They are not troubled with principles and are in my opinion guided by purely personal views.

Tho we may lose our Gov. and one other candidate on the state ticket the result shows that the state is really democratic.

Hunt was the only man in the whig party who would [have] stood any chance for an election. The two factions in the party which has now become a very serious affair were united on him, but I doubt if any other could have been found on whom they would have united. Hunt

¹² The election was very close, and for some time in doubt. Hunt received 214,614 votes; Horatio Seymour, the Democratic candidate, 214,352.

¹³ John Van Buren. The senator finally chosen was Hamilton Fish.

¹⁴ Preston King, representative 1843-1847, 1849-1853; senator 1857-1863.

also got a large Irish vote by his motion in Congress to appropriate \$500,000, to relieve Ireland from starvation. It was so contrived that he got the antirent vote and yet his letter to them was so ingeniously worded that the opponents of the faction were satisfied with his position. Scarcely any other man could have avoided Scilla and Charybdis as he has.

Tho the free soilers will yet give the dem. further trouble it will be less serious than that which now impends over the Whig party. Seward's demagogism will yet for a long time trouble them. The Whig party will no longer submit to his machinations and his friends will not consent to let him fall down to his proper position.

It looks to me as if something like the reorganization [reorganization] of political parties was likely to take place in this state and indeed throughout the whole country. More of this hereafter. . . .

Christmas. 25 Dec. 1850. As the year approaches its close I am naturally let to reflect upon the manner in which I have spent [it]. I cannot charge myself with down-right idleness yet it is most true that I have very little reason to be satisfied with what I have done in it.

Though I have not done much that I ought not to have done I cannot clear myself from the charge of sins of omission. The country has been in a crisis, and I ought to have been more active in efforts to give a right direction to public sentiment. I ought to have found leisure to employ my pen in sustaining the course which has been pursued to extricate us from our difficulties. As these measures had my entire approbation I ought to have done more than I have to secure for them the public approval. Tho my life has been essentially that of a public man I have a disrelish for public affairs. . . . I charge myself with remissness in not having completed my notes on "Washington Revisited". I promise myself that I will resume that subject. Another visit to W— which I shall make in a few days will enable me to do better justice to it than otherwise I could. I shall be very much hurried until my departure and probably shall not annotate again until after my return in this book—but I may—I ought to make *memmoranda* and so I will.

I left Albany for Washington on the 6th day of Jany. 1851, and arrived at home on the 1st. of May. I did not as I promised above make any *memmoranda* yet I think I am better able than I was to continue my remarks on "*Washington revisited*". Yet I fear that my time is to be much taken up for the next two months.

May 13th, 1851. I arrived at home from Washn. after an absence of nearly four months on the 1st inst. I ought to have renewed at once my annotations. An ou[t]line of what I did and saw at Washn. in this last visit would require a long *note*. I do not make it because I mean to employ my first leisure in finishing my "*Washington revisited*" which I intend shall embrace observations on men and things as they appeared to me in my two visits. I will barely say here that I had on the last excursion a very pleasant time. In one respect it was much better than the visit of the former year. It was much more profitable. My visit to Annapolis was also a very pleasant one. The thread of my remarks I will take up at the time of my arrival at home on the first of May. I pass over domestic affairs.

A new phase has been given to our State politics by the breaking up of the Legislature. The getting up of the nine Million

Law¹⁵ was undoubtedly a political manoeuvre. The whigs resorted to it to make capital. Whether they will succeed or not is yet an event in the uncertain future. Opposition to the project was just, on principle and policy. All allowable means should have been resorted to for defeating it but I doubted from the first and now still more doubt whether the resignation of the democratic senators was a wise course. It could never have been certain in the minds of the sagacious that such a step was sure to defeat it. If there was a probability that the whig strength in the senate would be increased by it the course should not have been adopted. Though the election has not yet taken place there seems to be no doubt that the whigs will carry three or four of the vacated districts.¹⁶ This will be a triumph which will worsen our condition in the next general election. As an issue extended to the whole state it will not be a bad one for the democratic party, yet on such an issue I do not think it will be as well off as it would have been if it had stood on the old ground. As things were before this new issue the democrats were gradually and slowly getting together while the whigs were getting asunder. The new state of things accelerates the union of the former but it arrests and may result in composing the increasing divisions of the latter. As things were one would have been improving in their internal condition and the other worsening. In this aspect of the case I should prefer not to have the experiment tried. Before this new phase was given to our politics the main issue would have been the compromise measures. This was a good issue, those who supported it stand on old democratic ground. The freesoil democrats saw and felt the necessity of getting on to it. The only choice before them was to get back into that position or to join the freesoil whigs under the lead of Seward and Weed, there to occupy a subordinate position and become a component part of a sectional party which could never be a national party. There [their] success, if by possibility it could extend through the free state[s] or the greater part of them, inevitably involved the disruption of the union. There is too much patriotism and sagacity in the mass of the democratic party and if I am not mistaken in the mass of those who were withdrawn from the support of Gen. Cass in 1848 to permit themselves to unite their political destiny with such an organization. They would not have followed infatuated—if such leaders could be found—to this extent. The nature of this issue was exerting a powerful influence in bringing democrats together.

But this issue was not less potent in its operation upon the ranks of the whigs in this state. While it was bringing democrats on to there [their] old platform it was removing the whigs from theirs. As a popular expedient they as a party had professed the freesoil doctrine. The more patriotic portion of them when they saw, and all but the blind could not but see, that the practical effect of that doctrine would put an end to the union, first hesitated and then renounced it. Mr. Fill-

¹⁵ An act authorizing a loan of \$9,000,000 for the enlargement of the Erie Canal. Eleven Democratic senators resigned their seats in order to break a quorum, but in vain. Henry B. Stanton, *Random Recollections* (second ed., New York, 1886), p. 83; Hutchins, *Civil List* (Albany, 1865), p. 414. The act was subsequently declared unconstitutional.

¹⁶ They in fact carried six.

more had been freesoil even to the verge of rank abolition but when placed at the head of the federal govt. by the death—and so far as respects the well-being of the country, the fortunate death—of Genl. Taylor, he at once saw the necessity of receding from his former ground; he at once favored the compromise measures and organized his administration in such a manner as to carry them into effect. This course, inevitable as it was, necessarily produced a division in the whig ranks in all the states where freesoilism had taken root. This division had become, and I hope notwithstanding the new issue, will continue to be a serious affair for the whigs in the State. Though now a majority of that party still cling to freesoilism, there are numerous secessions from it and much wavering among those who still permit that banner to float over their heads.

The leading whigs at Albany, mostly officials and hostile to Mr. Fillmore's administration, seeing their ranks unsteady no doubt got up the new issue in the reasonable expectation that it would tend to hold their followers together and probably prevent their defeat at the next state election. If they succeed in this expectation they will have given a most signal proof of their political dexterity. In any event they have got a better position than they had before and of course the democratic party are less sure of an approaching triumph than they would have been. Still I think as it is the prospect for their success is very promising.

WASHINGTON REVISITED

I am under engagements to myself to write out my observations and reflections on visiting W. in the winter of 1850. This visit was made at the end of one year from the time I retired from the War Dept. at the end of President Polk's adm'n and consequently after Genl. Taylor had occupied the Presidential chair for that space of time. Every thing so far as respected the city wore the same aspects as when I left it in 1849. In appearance there was no external change. I then saw many, as I thought, most of the old faces I was wont to see there. New faces it is true were abundant, but that is ever the case in Washington. While a resident there I scarcely ever saw Congress in session, tho my acquaintance with the members was extensive and those who were most frequently at the war office were still in that body or were brought there by business or curiosity. The familiar aspect of the place and the presence of so many whom I was accustomed to meet daily tended to impress me with a belief that my absence had been but for a brief period—much briefer than it had in reality been.

My attention was naturally at first directed to the men composing the new administration and to the positions they occupied with reference to congress and the country. With most of the men called in to the cabinet I had had some previous acquaintance and had formed higher expectations in regard to them as men of talents and as statesmen than they have justified.

Of General Taylor little was known previous to his election except what regarded his military character. To the view of the country his real character was surrounded by a halo of glory which prevented it from being seen in its true proportions. He had been a successful Genl in his Mexican campaigns and was therefore reputed to be a great one.

His first encounter with the enemy was attended with a result as brilliant as it was unexpected, and had the effect of introducing his name to public notice as a candidate for President. He was evidently captivated with the suggestion and the natural consequence was that those who favored it and there were enough such about him secured his confidence and thereby obtained undue controul over him, in relation to every thing connected with his advancement to the Presidency. They represented him as possessed of civil qualifications to which he had but slight pretensions and ascribed to him much more distinguished abilities as a military commander than he actually possessed. They filled his mind with false notions in regard to himself.

I thought well of him as a General but never for a moment regarded him as a great one. His knowledge of military affairs beyond the details in which his life had been spent, was very limited. Of the art of war, of strategy, of skilful arrangements, of a capacity to adapt his operations to meet emergencies as they arise and when they arise—of all the higher properties of a skillful commander in the field I now and at all times regarded him as uncommonly deficient. But he was attentive to the duties of his command and brought a common sense judgment to bear on all subjects to the extent of his information. He was brave to a degree which commands admiration and remarkably firm in his purposes. His bravery and the steadiness of purpose are the summary of his high qualities as a commanding officer. He was not very active, but was a prudent officer—singularly careful in regard to expenditures, so much so as to neglect to furnish himself with the information which he ought to have procured of the situation and movements of the enemy.

Tho very brave he lacked enterprise, and his prudence was without resource; he made a judicious use of what was put into his hands but wholly wanted the talent to create the means of secure success. With so many deficiencies indispensably necessary to constitute the highest order of commanders it is remarkable that he should have secured to himself, as unquestionably he did, in an uncommon degree the confidence in [of] the officers and soldiers under him. His bravery undoubtedly operated like a charm upon them; this impression was deepened by a conviction that his judgment was sound and his purposes well matured and would be steadily pursued. In another respect he stood above those with whom he was likely to be compared. He had a good discernment of the merits of those under him and in assigning duties to them he seems to have laid aside all personal feelings (from which he was not free) and in this way made the best use of the materials in his hands. There was in this respect an approach to magnanimity in his military conduct of which he has not yet given any evidence in his civil career.

But my object in speaking here of Genl Taylor is to present my views of him in his position as President to which this view of his character as General is perhaps an allowable introduction.

No man in the country could have been found with whose name the Presidency could have been connected by any fortunate concurrence of circumstances more ignorant of public men or more unacquainted with public affairs than Genl Taylor. I think he has stated that he had never voted at a presidential election; I know he has said that until after he was elected President he had never seen one of the men selected for his cabinet, nor but one of the members of his predecessors cabinet includ-

ing Mr Polk himself. This want of knowledge of public men—this abstinence from participation in public affairs, was certainly no matter to boast of by one who had been elevated to the chief Majesty [magistracy] of this great republic, and who had given, amidst profuse expressions to the contrary, a fixed determination to do what he could to secure that exalted station.

Talents of a high order had not been generally conceded to him, nor did any but mere electioneers ascribe them to him; but it was supposed that he had considerable discernment in judging of men, a native sagacity which would enable him to avail himself in a creditable way of the suggestions of others with more experience and better information than he could pretend to have. He had the general reputation of firmness carried as many believed to the faulty extreme of stubbornness. This acknowledged steadfastness united to something more than a common degree of sagacity, it was believed, would carry him thro the arduous duties of his new station in a manner creditable to himself and useful to the country. This belief was the more readily adopted from the fact that two of our Presidents most eminent for high civil qualifications were distinguished Generals. The adoption of such an inference arose it is true from a very superficial view of the character of the several men. Washington, Jackson and Taylor had scarcely any similarity in the features of their characters and many points of striking contrast. Among the generality of the people enough was not known of Genl Taylor to enable them to make the discrimination, and in this uncertainty of what he was there was room to hope he might sustain a comparison with one or the other. It was not until after the test had been applied that the delusiveness of this hope became manifest. It was not alone to the captivating effects of military glory among our people, more infectious and perhaps more excusable immediately after a successful war than at any other time—but to this was added a puerile weakness always too prevalent, that General Taylor was indebted for the enviable civil position he now occupies. So strange is it that what implied a disqualification was presented in his case and accepted to some extent as a positive recommendation and to it more than to his military fame or certainly in conjunction with it was he probably indebted for his success. He was not and never had been a politician; he was fettered with no strong political ties—bound to no system of measures, and could not be induced to make any thing like a profession to any distinct political creed.

At first he announced himself no partizan and sought elevation irrespective of either of the great political parties into which the country was divided. While in this position many of each party espoused his cause; but either by his own sagacity or by the aid of personal friends, most probably the latter, he at length discovered that the ground he occupied was untenable. He was induced to change it so far as to enable him to secure the support of one of these parties. It was fortunate for him that the whigs to whom probably he was the most inclined were the most easily accommodated. In order to be endorsed by their nomination and to receive their general support he acknowledged himself a whig—but a moderate one—professed to be most liberal in his views and so far descended to particulars as to put forth solemn and reiterated pledges that no man should be removed from office on account of his political sentiments; that he had no friends to reward, no

enemies to punish. Considering these sentiments as emanations from a frank honest mind many were led into a belief that with such a man at the head of the government the country would see what is impracticable in a free government—"proscription proscribed,"—a man elevated to power and wielding a vast patronage but making no marked discrimination between those who supported and those who opposed. The improbability of the thing should have made it incredible, except to those who are so weak as to believe in the continuance of miracles. The most charitable view which can be taken of Genl Taylor's conduct in this respect is to assume that he was so utterly destitute of political experience that he intended to do what he promised. Such a defence is a poor compliment to his sagacity—but any other would be fatal to his integrity.

The belief that these pledges were made in sincerity and by a man sufficiently self-willed to carry them out was more extensively entertained than experienced politicians would have imagined and produced more effect than was anticipated. It retained under his standard, first raised as that of a no-party candidate, many of the democrats who then resorted to it and did not leave it when he made his advance towards the whig party. Many who had become disgusted with the *ascerbity of party politics*, and believed that it might be laid aside in the management of public concerns in a popular government, fancied they saw in Genl Taylor a candidate who would carry out their fanciful theory of administration. In this way he secured quite an accession of strength from the democratic party, without creating a corresponding [counterbalancing]¹⁷ defection from the whigs. His no-party professions at first created considerable distrust among the whigs who remembered with suspicion the conduct of Tyler but his approaches towards them had in a great measure removed it. This step gave them a view of his character on which they confidently built their hope, that if he was not already, he could soon be made to be what they wished to have him; it showed them that they had not much to fear from his imagined steadfastness of mind—that his principles could be easily made to accommodate themselves to the exigencies in which he might be placed. They discovered that he had one qualification or rather property necessary to their success which they did not hope to find in any other candidate. As a politician they could give him a *camelian hue* which would make him appear in a light acceptable to their party in every section of the Union,—to the north and the south—in the slave-holding and in the free states. As he had not been scrupulous in making or modifying his professions, they did not fear that he would interpose to detect deceptions which they might deem it expedient to practice by giving him a character suited to the varying view of a party somewhat distracted with contrariant sentiments.

Though he was represented in the free states as holding sentiments not palatable to the south, he was a slave holder and the South thought he could be held in regard to the much agitated question of slavery true to their interest because he was then known to be a man of singularly strong attachments to his own. The affairs of the whig party were in a conjuncture which required for their success a very peculiar candidate

¹⁷ The word "counterbalancing" is written above "corresponding" in the manuscript.

and in the person of Genl Taylor they found just such a one as was needed. With him they succeeded and they could not probably have done so with any others. (See further remarks made after the Death of Genl T—.)

On the 5th of March 1849, he was inaugurated. His Inauguration address showed that he was not then entirely unmindful of what he had said before the election; but the selection of his cabinet gave warning that he was passing into an oblivious state in respect to his public pledges. The members of it were all whigs and scarcely one of the moderate species. Those in the most influential position were the most exceptionable. The Secretary of State¹⁸ is usually considered in our government the head of the cabinet and the person selected for that office had as was then generally conceded the requisite talents for that situation. He had been long in public life, but in one position—the senate of the U States—and his talents had only been tried in one line—opposition. A man may be able as an opponent who is quite incompetent to lead or support. To find fault is much easier than to sustain. Those who best knew Mr. Clayton expressed doubts of his fitness for the station to which he had been assigned; these doubts were not confined to democrats but prevailed to a considerable extent among the whigs. His early habits in one respect had been bad. Though I thought as many others did that he had reclaimed himself I soon learned that this was a mistake. It is no longer a questionable matter that the indulgence referred to had not been intermitted and is now carried to a disqualifying extent. It has probably affected his nervous system and is one of the assigned causes of his failure to answer the general expectation in regard to the discharge of his duties as Secretary of State.

His political friends did not abstain from alluding to another trait of character derogatory in private life and intolerable in a public man—I mean an unreliaeness—a defective integrity—a want of scrupulousness in regard to promises and in raising expectations without a settled intention to gratify them. Perhaps to characterise this fault as a want of integrity might be too expressive and yet it is but little short of it. When a man says a thing known to be within his power shall be done his character ought to be such as to give an assurance that it will be done and to leave no room for distressing doubts and uncertainty as to the result. On whig authority I am warranted in saying that such is not the case in respect to Mr. C. By a great many of his own party who have had opportunities of forming opinions from actual experience he is not regarded or spoken of as a *reliable* man.

In managing our foreign affairs he has shown an inadequate knowledge of them and a want of skill. He has utterly failed to vindicate the claim heretofore asserted by his friends and conceded by his opponents as a man of emminent talents. It was unfortunate for him to be forced as would necessarily be the case into a comparison with his able and accomplished predecessor.¹⁹ He has neither the abilities, the character or the address to sustain it. This juxtaposition has brought clearly into public view the signal merits and brilliant official success of the one and the no less noticeable demerits and disreputable failure of the other. The contrast is singularly disparaging to the present incumbent.

¹⁸ John M. Clayton of Delaware.

¹⁹ James Buchanan.

While I was in Washington I heard much said by the whigs—by leading members of the party and by the real friends of Genl Taylor—two classes not to be confounded—about a change in the cabinet and no change was suggested which did not contemplate the retirement of the Secretary of State. The low estimation in which the administration was held even among the great body of whigs was in no inconsiderable degree ascribed to the disappointed expectations of the public in regard to the Secretary of State and the bungling mismanagement of his Department.

The other members of the Cabinet claim a passing notice. The Secretary of the Treasury²⁰ has greatly fallen below public expectation. He had and from all I can now learn deserved to have a high reputation in his profession as a lawyer. Among the members of the bar in his state, Penna, now engaged in the practise he was by general consent placed in the first rank and many assigned him the head of it. The law had engrossed his attention and tho his uniform attachment had been to the whig or federal party he had not been an active politician. In going into the Cabinet he entered upon a new scene for which it now appears he was not well fitted. His position called for the exercise of fenormal [phenomenal] talents: as yet he has given no evidence that he possesses them in more than an ordinary degree. I do not think there has been much blundering but some miscalculation. No one has yet been satisfied how he came to the conclusion which he authorised to be promulgated to the public in advance of his annual report that there would be a deficit of Sixteen millions in the revenues. There does not appear to have been vigor or watchfulness in the management of the Treasury department under him. He is not at home in it and it would have been far better for his reputation had he never entered it.

The Secretary of the Interior²¹ is a far more conspicuous figure in the group. He is a well-trained politician of the genuine whig stamp; one who pushes forward to his ends unscrupulous of the means, more bold than sagacious;—all partizan and no patriot. The features of his character are hard. By the proscriptive course he pursued for the short time he was a member of the Harrison Cabinet²² he acquired the *sobriquet* of the Butcher. As Genl Taylor had made so many professions of no party policy and as many well meaning but miscalculating men had aided his election from an honest belief that under him political asperities would be soothed the selection of Ewing was a matter of surprise and regret. To another class not undeserving of their approaching fate it caused the shiverings of horror. In the struggles for political ascendancy the most active members of all parties approve of the doctrine that to the victors belong the spoils.²³ At the moment of triumph the successful call loudly for its unsparing application. After their ravenous appetite for office is gratified and they are comfortably

²⁰ William M. Meredith.

²¹ Thomas Ewing of Ohio.

²² Ewing was Secretary of the Treasury from March 5 to September 13, 1841. See *American Historical Review*, XVIII. 97-112.

²³ A repetition of the phrase, now become classical, used by Marcy, with reference to the politicians of New York, in the debate in executive session of the Senate, January 24 or 25, 1832. "They see nothing wrong in the rule, that to the victor belong the spoils of the enemy". *Register of Debates*, VIII. 1325.

provided for an entire change of views on this subject takes place. They then think there is something harsh and even horrible in the maxim. In the change from the pursuit to the possession of office a mighty revolution is wrought in the minds of a large part of the incumbents. The prospective advent of a moderate or no-party candidate to a position which controls patronage is a matter of great joy with them; it relaxes their political nerves. They become at first neutral in action, and ultimately treacherous in conduct to the party to which they are indebted for their official situation. Though this meanspiritedness is far from being general or even common it is extensive, and many of those who maintain their political integrity in such a crisis are deeply infected with a hope that they shall be spared. If they do not vociferously condemn the maxim which I have mentioned they do not like to hear it announced.

The class of office holders here described, indebted for their situations to the democratic party and to the political application of the maxim now so disrelished, did not much regret the defeat of the democratic candidate and the success of Genl Taylor; but the selection of Ewing startled them from their repose of fancied security. They however still hoped as did many others who had no direct personal interest in the matter that Genl Taylor would be true to himself and pursue an unproscriptive course to which he was in honor and honesty bound by so many and so often repeated pledges. Amid much that proved the contrary they still clung to the hope that there was something in the character of the old Hero as he was called which justified the boast that "General Taylor never surrenders", but how little foundation there was for this hope and how utterly fallacious it was will more clearly appear when the review of the cabinet is finished. The department over which Mr E. was selected to preside was newly established. It was the unwise measure adopted during Mr Polk's administration. It is due to his memory and fame that he neither favored or approved it.²⁴ As much can be said for all except one of his cabinet.²⁵ The bill creating the department unexpectedly passed and came to him for his signature in the last hour of his executive existence. If he had had even a few hours to reflect on it after he perceived its character I am quite sure he would not have given it his official sanction and as it was, immediately after he had signed it he said to the Secretary who had favored and indeed procured the passage of the law that "it was the worst bill he had ever signed". It would lead to an unallowable digression to detail here the objections to this unwise and antidemocratic measure. It was not fortunate, unless it should prove so with reference to its repeal, that such a man as Mr. E was called to carry the act into execution. It was a measure, executed in any way, which must have led to undue concentration of executive power and he above almost any other one that could have been selected was better fitted to develop and give prominence to this dangerous feature. The immediate mischief has been an immense drain from the Treasury—and more to follow.

²⁴ Confirmed by Polk's *Diary*, IV. 371-372.

²⁵ The one exception was of course Robert J. Walker, secretary of the treasury, who drafted the measure. H. B. Learned, "The Establishment of the Secretaryship of the Interior", *American Historical Review*, XVI. 766-768.

The indulgence of his proscriptive propensity has caused the removal of those in the several bureaus who were acquainted with the course of business and the character of the unfounded claims against the government which were pending before them or had been overruled. Many rejected claims have been represented²⁶ and admitted; old ones awaked from the slumber of years, new ones conjured up, and both have met with favor beyond their merits. It seems as if political antagonism in this department had been carried not only to men but to things; that claims were considered just because they had been rejected by the preceding administration. Mr. E. is unquestionably a man of considerable talents and considerable distinction as a Lawyer, incapacity cannot therefore be received as an excuse for the abuses of power in his department. The course pursued by him and those under him can be explained in no other way than by supposing him to act on the mistaken policy that popularity is to be obtained by opening the door of the Treasury to every one who knocks at it. Such a man is not fit to have been imposed upon such a President as Genl Taylor—a president who had not the capacity if he can be presumed to have the disposition to look after and contrall him. The Secretary of the Interior, admitted to be the ablest among the Septemvirs who surround the Presidential Effegy, is also the most ponderous and has contributed more than any of his coadjutors to sink the administration.

(*Further remarks on Genl. Taylor made after his death to be inserted on the 3d page of the 3 sheet [p. 458, above].*)

On the 9th of July the country was astounded by the announcement of Genl. Taylor's death. For this event the public mind was not prepared; scarcely had any notice gone forth of his illness. Public sympathy was deeply moved and the bereavement regarded with very general sorrow. His administration was excessively unpopular but it had not yet become extensively odious. There was still a hope extensively indulged that it would yet recover the ground it had lost. Many—very many—still clung to their first favorable opinion of the President, believing that he had been overruled by his cabinet and that ere long he would understand its true character and either change it or assume a mastery over it which would vindicate the character they had conceived him to possess. The people generally when they reflected upon the elevated statesman so suddenly removed from them viewed him in the light he was [in] when first elected; the cloud which had settled over him since his administration first began instantly disappeared; the brilliancy of his military achievements was thrown around him and nothing but the success and achievements of the brave and successful soldier was seen, felt or talked of. The national mourning [was] general and sincere; the language of panegyrick arose to extravagance. Much was said in praise of the statesman, but the public eye rested mainly on the soldier. Eulogies are usually indiscriminating and in this case they were peculiarly so. Strict impartial military criticism has not yet undertaken to pass in review his achievements but when it does so I think it will not give him a more elevated position than that I have assigned to him in my remarks made before his death.

Though eminently successful in his military career it can hardly be

²⁶ I. e., presented again.

said he deserved success. Where a general for want of skill gets into difficulty that fact ought I think to detract something from his merit in extricating himself from it. Such was the case in relation to the battle[s] of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma. Genl Taylor's main depot was at Point Isabel: here he had a vast accumulation of arms, provisions and munitions of war. If they had have been lost his operation for the season would have been entirely arrested; if they had fallen into the hands of the enemy who much needed them they would have been greatly strengthened and would have been thereby enabled to protract the war. This depot in every way so important was left without any thing which can be called a guard; it was distant from the army *twenty seven* miles—and what was worse than all it was accessible to the enemy. Why they did not cross the *Rio grande* near its mouth and capture it no one can tell. They might without meeting with any considerable resistance,—without any hazard have possessed themselves of it before Genl Taylor would have known it—certainly before he could have sent it any protection. He did not pretend to have known the strength of the enemy or any of their movements until they were discovered on the east side of the Rio Grande and had captured Capt Thornton and his party. Instead of crossing above Fort Brown had they crossed below and dashed on our Depot it must have fallen into their hand with the immense [amount] of property is contained.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Legends of Babylon and Egypt in relation to Hebrew Tradition.

By LEONARD W. KING, Assistant Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum, Professor in the University of London. [The Schweich Lectures, 1916.] (London: Humphrey Milford, for the British Academy. 1918. Pp. ix. 155.)

PROFESSOR KING in taking up the somewhat familiar subject of a comparison between Babylonian, Egyptian, and Hebrew traditions in regard to the beginnings of things does so for the purpose of showing the bearings of important new material that has come to light. This material is the result in the main of the Nippur Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania which was fortunate enough to unearth literary material belonging to the early Sumerian period, even though the actual texts represent copies that do not carry us beyond 2000 B.C. The bulk of the new material was published by Dr. Arno Poebel, who worked for several years at the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, and whose publication has revealed among other things the source of the tradition of Berosus for the early and purely fanciful Sumero-Babylonian chronology.

The discussion throughout is based on an independent study of the new material, in the course of which many points hitherto doubtful are elucidated. Professor King shows very clearly that the later Babylonian stories of Creation and the Deluge, which have come down to us in their Semitic (or Akkadian) form chiefly from the library of Ashurbanapal, dating from the middle of the seventh century before our era, actually do revert to the very old Sumerian prototypes, but that in the course of the transmission, many of the Sumerian features became blurred or were intentionally modified to suit the views of the later age. The most interesting result, therefore, of Professor King's investigation is to show the gradual modification of the early tradition in its course along the centuries. The Semitic population of Babylonia now generally designated as Akkadian did not content themselves with bodily accepting the old Sumerian tradition, but inaugurated the process of steady modification. Professor King might have emphasized more strongly than he does the necessary contrast in traditions regarding the beginning of things according as they take shape among a people living in a mountainous region (which appears to have been the home of the Sumerians) and among those living in a low valley like that of the Euphrates. A

mountainous region is apt to suffer from a dearth of water whereas a valley such as we find in southern Mesopotamia, well watered by the overflow of two rivers, often suffers from a superabundance of water. This contrast may be traced more definitely than Professor King appears to admit in the course taken in the adaptation of the old Sumerian traditions to those which appear to be more distinctly Semitic. As to the very important question of the relation between Babylonian and Hebrew traditions, Professor King is strongly inclined, on the basis of the new material, to assume that the Hebrew traditions took definite shape in the century or two preceding the Exilic period. In this position he will have the support of most modern scholars. At the same time there are good grounds for assuming a far earlier and steady stream of influences into Palestine emanating from the Euphrates Valley on the one hand and to a lesser degree also from the Nile Valley, though it is impossible to follow the process in detail, chiefly because of the late date at which the Hebrew traditions, even after becoming fixed, received their present form. Professor King's three lectures represent a remarkably clear and highly interesting exposition of the important subject, and are to be strongly recommended to those who wish to follow the bearings of the latest archaeological discoveries on Biblical tradition. Incidental to the discussion a great many points are touched upon which are important also to students of the history of the ancient East. The book marks a decided advance upon previous works on the subject.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Conversion of Europe. By CHARLES HENRY ROBINSON, D.D., Hon. Canon of Ripon. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1917. Pp. xxiii, 640. \$6.00.)

CANON ROBINSON, editorial secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and well known as author of a series of writings on missionary subjects, presents in this volume of six hundred pages a survey of the various attempts which resulted finally in the Christianization of the European peoples. In a considerable and useful introduction he points out the difficulties of his task arising from the meagreness of the material and its perversions for purposes of edification. The book illustrates these difficulties, and we have to thank the author for meeting them as well as he has. We only regret that so much valuable space has been given to quotations from other modern writers and that the fatal phrase "it is said that" has been employed so often where we should be glad to hear what Dr. Robinson himself knew or thought.

The historical treatment of religious conversion must always depend upon the view one takes of the conversional process. Our conventional usage implies an individual conviction of the truth of the ideas to which

the person or the group is "converted"; but there is another view which leaves out almost entirely this personal element. According to this latter opinion the process of conversion may be described rather as a political or institutional one. The former we might not unfairly call the missionary view, the latter the historical. The former finds its chief interest in the personal contact of the believing missionary with the heathen and his unbelief. The latter, the historical view, is concerned rather with the observable phenomena as expressed in outward institutional forms. For the missionary the immediate circumstances, the spiritual arguments, the special superhuman manifestations are of decisive importance. The historian cares more for the conflict of races, the clash of religious practices, the relation of religion to politics and social customs, and thinks of "conversion" as the long resultant of friction among these rival forces.

Canon Robinson's book is frankly a missionary story. He writes the word Mission with a capital, as if to take the whole process of conversion out of the normal chain of human motive and place it in a higher world by itself. Here is little discussion of racial and cultural conditions of the peoples to be converted. All are alike "heathen". They yield to the "Christian" appeal, but we are left with but little understanding of what it was in them which responded to this appeal. Christianity was brought to them both as a set of doctrines and a way of life. They accepted the doctrines as a necessary accompaniment of the kind of life the superior people seemed to them to be living. Where this superiority expressed itself also in greater force of arms, as in the Frankish conversions, the argument was irresistible. Where there was no obvious superiority, as in the case of the Britons and their Anglo-Saxon conquerors, no results were visible.

That our author has not given a larger place to these considerations is perhaps to be explained by the method he has used. His work is divided quite sharply by countries. Beginning, for no clear reason, with Ireland, he passes on to England, France, Italy, the Balkans, Spain, Austria, Switzerland, through the Low Countries to Germany, Poland, Scandinavia, and Russia. This method tends to obscure all chronological unity and sequence. It emphasizes the local and personal or missionary elements and makes difficult any guiding critical attitude toward material. In each country we have, quite naturally, the traditional story of the best-known missionary, as Patrick, Boniface, Methodius, Augustine, and so on, with not very much critical comment. There is enough of the too abundant tales of miraculous events, but this is commendably free from unction or over-emphasis.

The whole effect of the book is scrappy. Chronological references jump back and forth to the reader's confusion. The march of the conversion as a single unifying process in the making of a new European population is not clearly reproduced. The place of Christianity as one among several spiritual, individual, and universal religions competing

for primacy throughout the peoples of the Empire is very briefly indicated, though surely a true history of Christian conversion in these days ought to place almost the first importance upon this decisive rivalry.

The Dawn of the French Renaissance. By ARTHUR TILLEY, Fellow and Lecturer in King's College. (Cambridge: University Press. 1918. Pp. xxvi, 636. 25 sh.)

THIS book deals in general with the development of civilization in France during the hundred and fifty years that elapsed between the accession of Charles V. and the beginning of the reign of Francis I., and more particularly with the progress of the Renaissance in that country during the twenty years that immediately followed the incursion of Charles VIII. into Italy. It falls into three divisions. In the first part we find a brief résumé of the early Renaissance in Italy, an account of the comings and goings between the two countries in peace and in war, and an exposition of the conditions in France that might be supposed to affect artistic and intellectual activities. The second part is concerned with the revival of letters and literature in France; and the third part is given over to the beginnings of architecture, sculpture, and painting in that country. A final chapter gives an admirable summary of the entire book. It is a work that was needed, for we have in English none other that attempts the same task. And, despite the shortcomings we shall note, it is excellently done. Let us, first of all, notice some of the apparent slips and defects, and then call attention to the merits of the book.

Our author is well aware of the narrow and the broad meanings of the term "humanism". Unfortunately, in every instance in which it has to do with the structure of the book, he employs the former. This leads him to draw a distinct line between the workers in the classical languages and the writers in the vernacular tongues, and to consider the latter, as well as the men who gave expression in science and the plastic arts to the expanding thought of the time, as being something other than humanists. Would it not have been better to have recognized all men who contributed to the broadening and deepening of thought and feeling as humanists? It could then have been shown more immediately and more clearly than has been done that Lorenzo Valla and Leonardo da Vinci, for example, each in his own way contributed to the same end.

And had a broad meaning of the term "humanism" been employed, a second fault, the sharp differentiation between the Renaissance and the Reformation, might perhaps have been avoided. It is impossible to segregate religious thought and feeling from secular ideas and activity without doing injustice simultaneously to both. The restoration and expansion of individual thought in religious matters was quite as fundamental a fact or force in the Renaissance as was the revival and devel-

opment of literature, or art, or science. The religious element in life has not received adequate recognition at the hands of our author, either in his summary of the early Renaissance in Italy or in his discussion of the dawn of that movement in France.

Yet, after all, one is not sure that our author would have dealt with the widening religious thought of the time in a manner sufficiently broad and liberal. We seem to detect here and there an insular point of view. And when we come upon the astonishing statement (p. 287) that in 1509, after the third edition of the *Adagia* was published, Erasmus "was the first man of letters in Europe, and until Luther appeared on the scene he was its chief intellectual force", we are filled with dismay. How is it possible in this day and age for so fine a scholar to declare a backward-looking theologian, a man who repeatedly denounced reason as guide in the realm of religious thought, a dogmatist to all the new currents of thought singularly unresponsive, to have been a greater intellectual force than a man who, as much as anyone else of his time, felt the call of the open horizon, who in all the loftier aspects of liberty was the authentic spokesman of the age?

Another shortcoming is the failure sufficiently to emphasize the fact that the fundamental forces that produced the Renaissance in Italy were also at work in France, and that several of these forces came in a short time to be more potent in the latter country than in the former. It is true that from time to time our author calls attention to the indigenous elements in the linguistic, literary, and artistic activities of Frenchmen, but nowhere is it definitely stated that such a basic force as the change from the medieval negative attitude towards life to the modern positive attitude was at work, quite independently, in the transalpine country and would eventually have produced the modern spirit there had all intercommunication been interrupted between Italy and France. There is now no doubt at all, thanks to the studies made in our own time, that the French Renaissance, in the fullest meaning of the term, originated in France.

There are a number of minor statements to which objection may be taken. What proof is there for the assertion that "indifference to sin" was "the chief cause of that long night which descended upon Italy"? And is it not altogether incorrect to represent Lefèvre's position in the matter of faith and works, as enunciated in his preface to the *Epistles of Paul*, with the statement that he asserted "there is no merit in works without grace"? What Lefèvre said was this: "Let us not speak of the merit of works, which is very small or none at all."

And now we can speak of the merits of the book, which are numerous and notable. Aside from the limitations we have noted, it is a correctly arranged and finely correlated entity, discussing and disposing of all the cardinal points involved in the study. The facts have been gathered by extensive and scholarly research, and throughout there is a sustained and successful effort to interpret them. There is a delicate

feeling for the subtle influences, that permeated the age, that extended by invisible signs and accents from the old to the new. Our author is not one of those writers who, on the ground of weightiness of matter, or other supposed excellence, has taken out a license to be dull. It is not to the scratching of a pen that we listen, but to a human voice; for there are frequent illuminating reflections, and often we come upon something of the classical qualities of the literature of which he writes—neatness, precision, ease, moderation, lightness of touch, lucidity. It is a task, on the whole, well done. It is a book we shall find exceedingly helpful.

EDWARD MASLIN HULME.

Die Ursachen der Reformation. VON GEORG VON BELOW. [Historische Bibliothek herausgeben von der Redaktion der *Historischen Zeitschrift*, Band 38.] (Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg. 1917. Pp. xvi, 187.)

EVEN a learned and interesting philosophical study like the present one might have been considerably more valuable had the author precisely defined the problem which he set out to solve. The first uncertainty in the mind of this author seems to concern the exact content of the word Reformation. Primarily it stands in his mind for exactly what it originally meant—a reform of ecclesiastical dogma and discipline. But he is vaguely aware, or, perhaps, unwillingly concedes, that the word as sometimes used includes in the Reformation, or confounds with it, the political revolt and the social revolution of the sixteenth century. An inconsistency thus arises by his use of the word in several senses, usually in the narrower, but occasionally in the broader. Inevitably, with the unexpressed premise that dominates his thinking, that the Reformation was essentially a religious movement, he considers other than purely religious causes merely to reject them, or at least to give them a very subordinate place. For him, as for so many of the older writers, mainsprings of the whole vast movement are found in a reaction against the abuses of the Church, the rise of the assertion of national churches to autonomy, and the work of such forerunners as Wycliffe and the mystics.

But, as with painful diffidence the reviewer is bound to think, there is a second and even greater confusion in the author's mind as to exactly what is meant by the words "causes of the Reformation". The phrase might mean one of two very different things, either the cause of the success of the movement once launched, or the causes of (*i. e.*, events antecedent to) the origination of these ideas in the minds of the leaders. How enormously different are the two things is evident from a biological analogy. The cause of the survival of some particular appendage, such as the wing of a bird, is very different from the cause of its origination in the "accidental variation" of the first individual or "sport" having

something resembling a wing. In the present case the author sometimes means one thing and sometimes the other. The chief cause of the survival of the Lutheran ideas—i. e., the chief difference in conditions which allowed Luther to succeed where Hus had failed—was the invention of printing, of which the author speaks only to warn against overestimating the power of a machine to call forth thought. Usually he is concerned with the origination of the ideas which to him are the kernel of the Reformation, in the mind of Luther. For to him "Luther's creative personality" is the primary cause of the phenomena he is discussing.

The second essay in the book, the Reformation and the Beginning of Modern Times, is a contribution to the problem of the division of history into periods. These periods are really far less conventional than is sometimes thought. Man's life upon the earth, like other forms of life, is a story of adaptation to environment, its peculiarity being that man changes his own environment by new discoveries and inventions. Each of these necessitates some modification in previous habits, and hence the justification for seeing in the various periods into which history is divided something more than an arbitrary nomenclature. Professor von Below is very insistent that modern times began about the year 1500, and the large number of important changes in man's life, which came about then and which he rehearses in masterly fashion, give much weight to his argument.

In closing, may the reviewer be allowed to express his pleasure at seeing the first German publication that has broken through the British censorship-blockade to his eyes since 1915? May German thought, purged but not crushed out by the war, again take its due place in the light of cosmopolitan culture that we must all hope is once more beginning to shine through the clouds.

PRESERVED SMITH.

A Study of Calvin and Other Papers. By ALLAN MENZIES, late Professor of Biblical Criticism in the University of St. Andrews. (London and New York: Macmillan Company. 1918. Pp. x, 419. \$4.50.)

LUTHER's shaking sides and hearty laugh often gave his personality and his words a carrying power they would otherwise not have had. This gift was not in the possession of his contemporary of Geneva. But it is spreading among the modern ministry; and occasionally it has been found among college professors. Nowadays Calvinists venture to smile even in the pulpit, and, more rarely perhaps, in the lecture-room. It is a thing not to be deplored, for a smile shows the sunlight of the mind, and often the real *dicere verum*, even in theology, has come from one *quamquam ridentem*.

Something of a smile must sometimes have played about the lips of the writer of these essays. He was a Calvinist minister who, for

twenty-seven years, occupied the chair of biblical criticism in the University of St. Andrews. The book, published posthumously, contains a memoir of him by his daughter, some half-dozen essays and sermons, and a study of Calvin that remains unfinished. It is in the last that we are chiefly interested.

The essay, no part of which received final revision at the hands of the author, deals with the career and personality of Calvin, with his teaching, with his influence, and with the permanence of his message. It adds nothing to our knowledge of the man or his work.

There are slips here and there, as when the members of the ancestral church are accused of the "worship" of images; and when it is asserted that there was no Greek to be had in Paris in Calvin's undergraduate days. The word that should have been used is adoration, a distinctly different act; and Guillaume Cop, who was Calvin's friend, learned the rudiments of Greek in the French capital from Janus Lascaris, a distinguished Hellenist. A more serious shortcoming is the failure to understand so significant a movement as that of the Anabaptists. We are told that the aim of the Anabaptists was "the subversion of society"; that "the fate of the Anabaptists, preaching wild doctrines, dangerous to society as well as to the church, and disappearing in a few decennia, shows what must have happened to Protestantism if it could have been said that it had parted with the ancient doctrine of the creeds and that its doctrine of liberty was subversive of civil order". Did our author not know that revolution does not necessarily spell disaster, and that until, by incredible persecution, chiefly at the hands of members of the new churches, the Anabaptists lost their leaders, there was nothing in their teaching that does not stand approved by sound and progressive thinkers to-day?

The chief value of the book is that it reveals a gradual increase in breadth of thought and tolerance of spirit in the strongholds of Calvinism. The scriptural writings, according to Calvin, were to be interpreted in such a way as to make his doctrines their only logical outcome. Under such a system as that, our author candidly admits, "exegesis cannot be free". The Bible, he grants, must now "be allowed to speak for itself, with the aid of all the knowledge the centuries have brought of those ancient worlds to which its writers belonged". And, finally, he acknowledges that "the truths which edify quickly grow trite and commonplace and lose their power if they are not related to the living stream of learning". It is in such utterances as these that we catch the smile, fleeting and finely tempered, born of an intermingling of clear-sightedness and sympathy, to which we look for a liquidation of mental fixities, a large allotment of salutary liberations.

EDWARD MASLIN HULME.

Louis-Philippe, d'après des Documents Inédits. Par DENYS COCHIN, de l'Académie Française. (Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1918. Pp. 285. 7 fr. 50.)

THIS volume is not a biography of the Citizen King with a careful and consecutive account of his personal fortunes, acts, and policies; nor is it a history of the Monarchy of July, for the author has no notion of competing with Thureau-Dangin; neither does it rise to the dignity of an essay either in marshalling of facts or in literary form; nor yet is it a pleasant narrative of courtly trivialities after the manner of Imbert de Saint-Amand. The ten chapters are arranged in chronological order and afford a fair conspectus of the career, but only six of the chapters can be considered as narrative in character, while the other four are soliloquies on the Revolution, on the Restoration, on the causes of the downfall of the July Monarchy, and on the Revolution of 1848. A considerable number of documents of scattered dates and diverse provenance serve as a loose-jointed skeleton for the volume, but only a few of them are of much significance. Perhaps the best are the little group from the La Fayette papers at La Grange relative to the Spanish marriages, though mention might also be made of Louis Philippe's reports of an interview with Danton in which the latter is represented as avowing his responsibility for the Massacres of September, and of his relations to the treason of Dumouriez. Otherwise, the La Fayette *Mémoires* seem to be the favorite source, and the author divides his mild eulogies between the hero of two worlds and the hero of Jemappes. The best chapter is that in which the causes of the fall of the Monarchy of July are discussed; in turn, the combined legitimist and republican opposition, the handling of the Eastern Question, the refusal of electoral reform by Guizot, and the Spanish marriages are the subjects of more or less enlightening comment rather than of careful research or convincing analysis.

M. Cochin is a convinced monarchist who believes that monarchy under the constitution of 1791 might have worked had Louis XVI. shown more resolution, who glorifies the government under the Charter of 1814 whether under the restored Bourbons or under Louis Philippe, who abhors revolution, and who lets slip no slightest hint of approval of the present republic which, like the Revolution, he directly condemns for anti-clericalism. He nowhere reveals any evidence of having read a single volume of real historical character and worth, or any consciousness of the existence of the published historical sources for the epoch. He has read several volumes of memoirs, he has talked with intelligent and interesting people, and chance has placed in his hands some small packets of old letters; with such resources he has constructed the book. As might be anticipated from such circumstances, the author sees only personalities and has no conception whatsoever of the great forces, political, economic, and social, which have been irresistibly hurrying humanity forward during the last four generations.

Like the rest of us, M. Cochin finds Louis Philippe only very mildly interesting, and at best moderately intelligent and virtuous, a quite harmless and uninspiring king of commonplace. His highest eulogy (p. 261) declares of his hero: "Le dernier de la longue série de nos rois avait été le meilleur homme d'état de son règne; et pendant toute sa vie, mêlée à d'extraordinaires événements, s'était montré un parfait honnête homme, et un bon Français." With such amiable sentiments it would seem rude to take issue.

GEORGE MATTHEW DUTCHER.

France, England, and European Democracy, 1215-1915: a Historical Survey of the Principles underlying the Entente Cordiale. By CHARLES CESTRE, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux. Translated from the French by Leslie M. Turner, Assistant Professor of French in the University of California. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1918. Pp. xx, 354. \$2.50.)

HERE is a war book of the better sort, the work of a man of intelligence and discrimination who has deliberately endeavored to see clearly and speak justly amid the clash of arms and the conflict of nations, who has labored to promote a better understanding between allies rather than embitter hate against the foe. It is not a book of the hour. The French original, *L'Angleterre et la Guerre*, appeared three years ago, the English translation a year ago; but it has lost no whit of readableness with the passage of the months; its suggestiveness is greater for peace than for war. The success of any league of nations must depend upon the development of mutual understanding and the acceptance of common standards, and every such exposition of the common characteristics and ideals of allied nations may be considered a stone laid in the foundation of the desired structure of national brotherhood.

This volume is the work not of an historian or a political scientist but of a distinguished French professor of English literature to whom the history of the ideals of liberty in English politics, life, and literature has appealed as a subject of keen and intimate interest for the history of French political development and for the cementing of the Anglo-French alliance against autocracy, against the theory and practice of the absolute state. The volume does not consist in a consecutive narrative or exposition but rather in a group of eleven essays or lectures. The introductory chapter answers Why England is Our [France's] Ally? The second to the fifth chapters inclusive furnish a survey of English foreign policy with special reference to the occasions through the centuries when England and France have co-operated in the achievement of noble purposes. The remaining chapters discuss England the Mother of Liberty; English Individualism and German State-ism; Imperialism and Empire; the Modern English Spirit as exemplified in the Customs of the Country; the Modern English Spirit as exemplified

in the Literature; and, in conclusion, What the English have Done, What They are Doing.

The author is no kin to the scientific historian of the past generation whose pride was the precision of facts and the minute completeness of narrative. His easy transitions between widely separated events may be refreshing, but his carelessness or inaccuracy in matters of fact gives a harmful impression as to the soundness of the several contentions and main theses; but fortunately these petty faults rarely vitiate an argument or affect the general tenor of the conclusions. Parenthetically it may be observed that the translator has failed to correct even obvious errors and has not refrained from marring a normally good style with some curious gallicisms. Criticism of such faults of detail should not, however, detract from the credit for undertaking so difficult an essay amid the confusion of war, nor from praise for the clearness and vigor with which the main conclusions are sustained.

Professor Cestre has rightly grasped the essential characteristics of the English people and the main elements in their political development and in their relations to French national life and political progress. He understands, as Continentals too rarely do, the mixture of idealism and realism in the English character. He appreciates the steady quiet process of adjustment by which the English have extended the franchise and civil rights among themselves and the privilege of responsible government to their colonies, and the sincerity and consistency with which England in foreign relations has pursued the policy of balance of power. He comprehends the differences and similarities in the individualism and the idealism of the English and the French, and so is able to give a clear and correct exposition of the mutual reactions of the two peoples in the attainment of liberty. He realizes that liberty is a means not an end, while the individual is not a means but an end. In antithesis to German nationalism, absolutist, self-centred, self-seeking, with no consideration for the individual, he reveals English and French nationalism, with their modicum of self-centred character and self-seeking purpose, substituting liberty in place of the absolute state, promoting the welfare of the individual as their end not as an incidental means, inspired with the sense of chivalry and *noblesse oblige*, and honoring, in good sportsmanship, the achievements of others and respecting their rights to share in world affairs in proportion to their just merits. It would be a mistake to close without referring to the excellent critiques of the political philosophies of Burke and Carlyle.

GEORGE MATTHEW DUTCHER.

Behind the Scenes in the Reichstag: Sixteen Years of Parliamentary Life in Germany. By the Abbé E. WETTERLÉ, ex-Deputy at the Reichstag and in the Alsace-Lorraine Chamber. (New York. George H. Doran Company. 1918. Pp. xiii, 256. \$2.00.)

ABBÉ WETTERLÉ, who fled from Alsace just as martial law was de-

clared in 1914, covers in these reminiscences his connection with German national political life from his entrance into the Reichstag in 1898 to the outbreak of the war. The fact that he departed in such haste that he was obliged to leave his papers behind, probably accounts for some errors of fact in his narrative, such as the statement (p. 119) regarding the organization of the Reichstag of 1912. The Centre delegates did not vote for Bebel for temporary presiding officer, but for Peter Spahn, who was elected but refused to sit in the presidency with Scheidemann. Also, Richthofen's "thoughtless exclamation" regarding the use of the Guelph funds for corruption of the press should have been a surprise to no one, as this "significant confession" merely repeated what had been known to every newspaper reader since the early days of the empire, and had indeed been foreshadowed by Bismarck in a Reichstag speech as early as January 30, 1869 ("Reptilienfonds").

It is also incorrect to ascribe Bülow's fall entirely to the conflict over the *Erbchaftssteuer* and to William's personal ill-will over the *Daily Telegraph* affair. The chancellor was forced out because the Centre leaders seized the opportunity to revenge themselves for the dissolution over colonial affairs in 1906.

Wetterlé's book is not, however, to be judged by the standards of scholarship. The clever editor of the *Journal de Colmar* and the *Nouvelliste d'Alsace-Lorraine* jumbles together persons and events in the approved manner of the *feuilleton*. The chapter on Pan-Germanism (VI.) is an extreme example of this casual wandering, which passes on from the Lex Heinze to the economic policies of the Reichstag, and from Bülow's treatment of the Centre to colonial policies and manipulation of the budget, with the slap-dash method of the journalist and the inconsequence of the *causeur*. To these he adds the wit and bitterness of the accomplished political pamphleteer. His characterizations include nearly all of the leading national figures of the last two decades; and if we except the rather sympathetic portraits of Eugen Richter, Friedrich Naumann and (*mirabile dictu!*) Parson Stoecker, there is hardly an agreeable picture among them. In the gibing style of the *pasquinade* he puts before us the Pan-Germanic leader Hasse ("a vulgar face enframed by a red beard"), Bassermann ("outrageously pomaded and perfumed"), and Arendt ("a tobacco jar, perched on two match-stalks and surmounted by a deformed lemon"). His bitterest phrases are reserved for Lieber, the two Spahns, and Erzberger, the leaders of the Centre party, whose efforts to win over the delegates from Alsace-Lorraine were a constant and conspicuous failure.

However, in spite of personal abuse and much undignified tittle-tattle, the book throws many interesting side-lights on the psychology of the Nationalists in Alsace and on their relation to the fractions in the Reichstag. Interesting too are its pictures of the cumbersome machinery of the German parliament and of the social barriers between the fractions. These, with his account of the gradual conquest of the

Centre and Progressives by Pan-Germanism, are set forth in a tone of caustic sprightliness which ever borders on caricature.

Beyond these side-lights, it can hardly be said that the author adds to our knowledge of persons and events, though here and there we are helped to complete the picture of the political development of the period. New to the reviewer is the account of Bethmann-Hollweg's attempt early in 1914 to get the Bishop of Strassburg to discipline the clerical delegates of Alsace, as well as the evidence of Lieber's hostility to the Alsatian delegates (p. 61), and the influence of Legien, the head of the Socialist trade-unions, in driving the leaders of Socialism toward Possibilism (p. 183). Most important, perhaps, is the detailed account of Wetterlé's intervention in the first Morocco crisis as intermediary between the German Foreign Office and a mysterious representative of the French ministry (p. 236 ff.).

ROBERT H. FIFE, JR.

The Eclipse of Russia. By E. J. DILLON. (New York: George H. Doran Company. 1918. Pp. vii, 423. \$4.00.)

FEW foreigners have had better opportunities to become acquainted with the complex political forces in Russia than Dr. Dillon. A graduate of two Russian universities, and a professor of comparative philology at the Ukrainian University of Kharkov, he has also served as an editor on two Russian newspapers and has long been noted for his contributions to the *Contemporary Review* and other periodicals outside Russia. More than that, he was for twenty years the intimate friend of Count Witte; he lived in Witte's house, accompanied him on his journeys, handled the great finance minister's private papers, and was the recipient of his after-dinner meditations and reminiscences. Quite naturally, therefore, Boswell dedicates his volume "To the memory of my friend and Russia's unique statesman, S. I. Witte". If one were to sum up Dr. Dillon's conclusions in a sentence, one would say that the eclipse of Russia is due to the fact that Witte was not allowed, owing to the weakness of Nicholas II. and the rottenness of the court around him, to carry out the peaceful reforms and development which might have retarded, if it did not avert, the collapse of the Tsarist state.

The first half of the volume will prove less interesting to historians than the later chapters. It is made up of a rather rambling, anecdotal, and philosophical analysis of the causes of the Russian *delirium tremens*. As the author departed from Russia in March, 1914, and unfortunately left behind many of his notes where they are inaccessible, he has to rely on his memory, on his general knowledge of pre-war conditions, and on his own previous articles—which he frequently quotes—when they show how prescient were his prophecies. Among the causes of Russia's downfall he emphasizes four. The first is the "predatory character of the Tsardom", the steady conquest of alien peoples which has given

rise to the centrifugal nationalistic movements which autocracy found it increasingly difficult to suppress. The second cause was the vicious system of parasitical bureaucracy which kept the peasants degraded, ignorant, and without sufficient land. The third was the total failure of the *intelligentsia*, both in 1905 and in 1917, to understand the Russian peasant and his one great desire for land. From the *intelligentsia* came both the apostles of revolution and the bourgeois liberals, such as the Kadets. But they were both mere theorizers. They had no roots among the people and did not know how to use the opportunity when it came. And the fourth and greatest cause was the autocratic system which lodged supreme power in such a shallow, weak-willed, secretive, deluded, self-complacent nonentity as Nicholas II. Nowhere have we seen such a black portrait of the late Tsar as Dr. Dillon paints, and he has plenty of stories to justify it. By way of illustrating the moral and political rottenness of the group around the Tsar, he gives vivid and excellently informed chapters on Rasputin, Father Gapon, and Azev, and all their double-edged treachery. He even asserts that several attempts to murder Witte were made by intriguers close to the throne, with the Tsar's sanction.

In the second half of the volume Dr. Dillon touches upon international questions of the past twenty-five years. By reporting things which Witte related to him he throws new light on a number of shady transactions—if Witte's recollections are to be trusted. The duplicity by which the shrewd and vigorous Kaiser forced the weak Tsar into signing the Björkö treaty is shown to have its counterpart in two other similar cases of secret royal diplomacy. In his first visit to Russia, soon after the accession of Nicholas II., the Kaiser extorted from the Tsar the agreement that the Germans should seize Kiao Chau; and in the Potsdam meeting of 1910, the Tsar was wheedled, in similar fashion, behind the back of his ministers, into giving a written approval of the German military mission to Turkey under General Liman von Sanders. Not less interesting are the shrewd moves by which Witte secured advantages in the commercial relations between Germany and Russia; by which he countered the Kaiser's suggestion of a tariff war against the United States by proposals of his own for a peaceful federation of Europe; and by which he on several occasions used his influence to avert wars which he foresaw must be disastrous for Russia. Less convincing is Dr. Dillon's account of the plot by which the Tsar planned to seize the heights of the Upper Bosphorus in 1896, and his statement that the first Hague Peace Conference was essentially a hypocritical trick on the Tsar's part designed to spare Russia from an increased expenditure on guns demanded by Kuropatkin. These and other interesting revelations of Witte, being mostly in the nature of reminiscences, need verification from other sources before being accepted as unquestioned historical material.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

Readings in the Economics of War. Edited by J. MAURICE CLARK, WALTON H. HAMILTON, and HAROLD G. MOULTON. [Materials for the Study of Economics.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1918. Pp. xxxi, 676. \$3.00.)

It has been said many times that the war just concluded was an economic war and that the final victory of the Entente allies was due to their superior economic strength. Whether they subscribe to this doctrine in its extreme form or not, there is no doubt that the authors of the book under review believe that economic questions played a most important part in connection with the war. Probably in no way can an idea of its contents be better conveyed than by enumerating the headings of the sixteen parts of which it is composed. These are:

Economic Background of War; War as a Business Venture; the Nature of Modern War; Resources of the Belligerents; Problem of Industrial Mobilization; Obstacles to Rapid Mobilization in Liberal Countries; Wartime Regulation of Trade and Industry; Food and Fuel; Transportation; War Finance; Prices and Price Control; Labor and War; the Costs of the War; War's Lessons in the Principles of National Efficiency; Economic Factors in an Enduring Peace; After-the-war Problems.

Under each of these headings are some three or four sections, each with four or five selections. Altogether there are nearly three hundred extracts in the book—a tribute to the wide reading and industry of the editors.

The topics just enumerated fall roughly into three groups: those connected with the economic reasons that make for war; those connected with the economic and financial mobilization of the nation's resources necessary to the conduct of the war; and those having to do with reorganization and reconstruction after the war. It is evident, however, that the second group far outweighs either of the other two in importance in a book on the economics of war, and to a consideration of these problems about two-thirds of the book is devoted. For American readers there is most to be learned from this section. This country has never been militaristic nor imperialistic; it was not organized for war, but was in the truest Spencerian sense an "industrial" nation. Hence, when it entered the war, it had to organize its resources in wealth and men in the shortest possible time. This was the application of the acid test to our economic organization and institutions. It disclosed many weaknesses in our individualistic régime and made necessary some measure of control to secure the proper direction of production and effort. When the armistice was signed, a most efficient machinery had been built up and was functioning smoothly.

The readjustments rendered necessary in our economic system were too great to permit of a return to former conditions upon the return of peace. New problems and new points of view have been developed,

which call for solution. Difficult as were the economic problems of war, those of peace will be still harder. In war there is one objective—to defeat the enemy. To this end all else must be made subservient. But the programme of reconstruction is not so definite and is consequently infinitely more perplexing and confused. These problems are raised but not answered in this volume.

A collection of readings is often thought to be disconnected, scrappy, and without real value. The present volume proves that such a book can be made to tell a connected story, which loses nothing of its interest because of the large number of authors, while it gains in authority. The selections are carefully made and edited so as to eliminate all extraneous material. The result is a compilation of value both to the student and to the general reader.

E. L. BOGART.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The Development of the United States from Colonies to a World Power. By MAX FARRAND, Professor of History in Yale University. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1918. Pp. xi, 356. \$1.50.)

THIS is an odd book. The author says (p. 298): "If there be any value in the sketch of American development that has been attempted in this book, it must lie in the recognition that a great variety of forces produced the modern American and in the presentation of elements sometimes neglected." These last appear to be the westward spread of settlement and alterations in the structure of society as based upon the development of means of communication and internal commerce. While avowing himself in the introduction to be a disciple of Professor F. J. Turner, he expressly declines to follow him into a study of sectionalism. "It may well be", he says (p. 135), "that an appreciation of the strength of sectionalism is essential to a correct understanding of the development of the United States, but a greater force than sectionalism was here at work. Internal commerce was an all-important factor in developing nationality." Sectionalism, accordingly, receives slight attention, and, doubtless for similar reasons, the subjects of banking, western inflationism, and, notably, the development of political beliefs as the result of western expansion are either omitted or barely mentioned.

The book contains lucid and interesting analyses of the things the author considers important, such as the economic conditions and social developments in the colonies, the young republic, the new West, the growing industrial state after the Civil War, and finally the present capitalist country. But the author has written this book not merely to emphasize the things he considers important but also to indicate those in which he takes no interest, and it so happens that in the last category

repose most of the subjects which have heretofore been supposed to make up American history. Not content with concentrating attention upon commercial growth he cannot refrain from constantly indicating how unimportant in his eyes are wars, politics, legislation, personalities, and events in general. He does this by epithets, by phraseology, by extreme brevity and visible indifference. Side by side he employs two styles, one clear-cut, vigorous, plausible, to describe social changes, the other tentative, general, frequently vague, to deal with the narrative. We are told authoritatively just what the public land system did for the country, but we are left in the dark as to how Texas came to be annexed. Forty thousand Americans settled in Texas, after which, we are told, "There could be but one outcome of such a condition, the establishment of the independence of Texas, which took place in 1836, and then annexation to the United States." This is not an extreme instance, but fairly typical.

One wonders for what audience the book was written. In spite of its admirable chapters on commerce and settlement, it would scarcely be usable by college classes on account of its persistent vagueness in other fields. As for the general reader, while he could hardly fail to be interested in the social chapters, he might well be puzzled if not repelled by the blasé atmosphere of the narrative. If nothing that men fought and died for—the slavery question, for instance—was really more than an episode in westward development; if the Abolitionists are not worthy of a single mention; if the recurring phrases "it is idle to discuss", "of little importance", "a mere incident", are the true essence of historical judgment, it is but a short step to the first chapter of Ecclesiastes.

THEODORE CLARKE SMITH.

Histoire de la Fondation de la Nouvelle Orléans (1717-1722). Par le Baron MARC DE VILLIERS, avec un Préface de M. GABRIEL HANOTAUX, Membre de l'Académie Française. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale. 1918. Pp. xvi, 130.)

THE indomitable spirit of France is evidenced by this book. In the third year of the war, at a time when the nation was gathering all its energies for a death-grapple with its brutal enemy, M. de Villiers (who was conducting a hospital for the wounded at his home in Brittany) and the national printery joined in producing a work that bears no mark of the strain of that year of horrors. The text is suggestive of "the quiet and still air of delightful studies", and the mechanical execution and dress of the book fall in no way below the highest standard of French workmanship and taste.

The book tells the story of the founding of the capital of the French colony of Louisiana, that colony of which France had such high hopes and to which she gave so many heroic men; and it concludes with a word of promise, in spirit like a benediction, of a still greater future for the capital city.

Louisiana's greatest enemy and best friend has always been the water. The great river drowned it with its floods, but gave a highway for its commerce. On the shores of the river the growth of the great city of the country was inevitable. The higher ground at the river end of the portage from Lake Pontchartrain was observed by Iberville as early as 1699. The first suggestion that a post be established at the place seems to have been made by the Sieur de Remonville in 1702.

Remonville was an active man, a merchant, who had ascended the river to the Illinois as early as 1697. He seems to have been a writer as well; and in his *Lettre Historique touchant le Mississipi* in 1702, in a *Mémoire* in 1708, and in a *Description du Mississipi* in 1715 he persistently urges the establishment of an *entrepôt* at the place mentioned.

M. de Villiers gives the story of Remonville with a note of pathos. Completely ruined in his fortune he returned to France where he was hounded by his creditors. In December, 1717, he appealed to the government for a position in Louisiana, urging that he was the only one who had sacrificed himself to give aid to the colonists. He was not listened to, and we hear no more of him. Bienville was the next to take up the matter, and it was by his persistence that the site was finally chosen. The Council of the Marine on October 1, 1717, appointed a magazine-keeper and a cashier at the commercial establishment (*comptoir*) which shall be set up at New Orleans; and it is this date, of which the Comité du Souvenir Franco-Américain has chosen to celebrate the bi-centenary by this publication. But while this action of the council was a recognition of the unsatisfactory position of the posts then existing, it did not by the designation Nouvelle Orléans refer to a fixed place. For more than four years the matter remained in dispute. It was not until May, 1722, that the establishment which Bienville had begun was formally accepted by an order to transfer the seat of government to New Orleans.

The people at the old establishments, if such they may be called, resisted change; and those who had made new establishments on the Mississippi, at Manchac and at Natchez, intrigued to have their places chosen for the capital. Floods and hurricanes came to strengthen the opposition. The authorities in France, in comfortable ignorance, listened, and hesitated, and vacillated. But the trade was on the river, and Bienville demonstrated the value of the situation by sending a ship up to the site of New Orleans and mooring it at the shore. At Biloxi ships could not come within three or four leagues of the shore; goods could be carried to land only by three changes from small to yet smaller boats, and even then carts had to be sent out a hundred paces into the shallow water to meet the last relay. The cost of all of this had to be added to the cost price of the goods.

In a price-list ordained by the Company of the West in 1719 it is provided that goods will be delivered at New Orleans at a price five per cent. greater than at Biloxi, and "Aux Illinois et au Missouri" at fifty

per cent. more. British traders were pressing westward from Carolina. All these things strengthened Bienville's position and forced a final decision. The matter once settled all opposition ceased, and enemies became devoted supporters. M. de Villiers calls attention to the fact that Pénicaut, Charlevoix, and others writing of the place described what was to be hoped for, rather than what really existed. Of all descriptions of New Orleans at that time, the most exact, says M. de Villiers, seems to be that of the Abbé Prévost, except for the mention of the hill. Prévost's description is in his story of *Manon Lescaut*. M. de Villiers makes a study of the basis of that story, tracing the characters and events in a most interesting manner. He also takes up in the same way those other contemporary romances of European connection, so dear to the hearts of the *Louisianais*, the story of the Princess Charlotte of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, wife of the Tsarevitch Alexis, and that of the beautiful Desbrosses, the *élève* of Molière. The author's great familiarity with the literature of early Louisiana, both printed and unprinted, has enabled him to put all of these things and many more in the eight delightful chapters of the book, and to speak the final word on the subject. He has earned the gratitude of all who love that most individual of all American cities. An eloquent preface by M. Gabriel Hanotaux adds much to the volume. The printing is exquisite; there is a portrait of Bienville, a number of maps, plans, views, and daintily designed and executed decorative figures.

WALTER B. DOUGLAS.

Georgia as a Proprietary Province: the Execution of a Trust. By JAMES ROSS MCCAIN, Ph.D., Professor of American History in Agnes Scott College. (Boston: Richard G. Badger; Toronto: Copp Clark Company. [1917.] Pp. 357. \$2.50.)

HITHERTO the institutional organization and development of the province of Georgia have been almost ignored. Now at last we have the above luminous and interesting volume by a pupil of the late Professor Herbert L. Osgood of Columbia University. On the basis of a careful study of the printed sources and of unprinted and hitherto unused original manuscripts and transcripts in the state capitol at Atlanta and in the possession of Professor Osgood, our author's ten chapters treat successively of: I. The Creation of the Trust; II. Personnel of the Trustees; III. Relation of Oglethorpe to Georgia; IV. Organization and Activities of the Trust in England; V. Organization of the Executive in Georgia; VI. Legislative History of the Province; VII. Judiciary; VIII. Land System; IX. Educational Progress; and X. Religious History of Early Georgia. The volume has a very careful analytical table of contents, a working bibliography, and an index which is good though not quite complete as to proper names.

The Georgia Trust was created by the royal charter issued on June

9, 1732, and ceased on June 23, 1752, when the trustees surrendered the charter and Georgia thus became a regular crown colony. There were seventy-one regular trustees; Professor McCain gives tables of figures showing the record of each as regards attendance on meetings of the trust and of the common council, and committee service, followed by a general summary.

The trustees were men of high character, and many of them were also considered very able as well as conscientious, but they had no idea as to how to govern a distant colony, yet they were unwilling to delegate real authority to anyone on the spot. They gave elaborate instructions to their official botanist, but none to their magistrates in Georgia, and there were no law-books or lawyers in the colony before 1741—for fear of unnecessary litigation! The keeper of their public store in Georgia (where all purchases had to be made) received four times as much salary as any other official, and in influence and prestige soon overshadowed all the rest. The trust being for charity, the charter prevented any trustee from becoming a real governor. Thus Oglethorpe's position in Georgia was necessarily anomalous from the first and caused so much confusion that McCain, though recognizing his high character and abilities, reluctantly concludes (p. 96) that it would have been better for the province if he "had never gone to Georgia, or at least if he had gone there only as the commander of the regiment and without any civil authority at all". In 1737 the office of "secretary to the trustees in Georgia" was created, and William Stephens, an able man, appointed. In 1741 the province was to be organized into two counties, each to be governed by a president and assistants, but in 1743 the scheme for the separate Frederica County was abandoned, and so Stephens was placed at the head of the whole colony, but with little independence of action. In 1751 the first provincial general assembly met, but it could merely offer suggestions to the trustees, who then refused to allow it to make any by-laws, to establish courts of equity in Savannah, or to reduce the import duty on slaves. In 1751 also the assembly was definitely constituted as a permanent advisory body. Next year the charter was surrendered.

Strange to say, three laws approved by the Privy Council in 1735, namely, the act prohibiting the importation and use of black slaves or negroes, the act to prevent the importation and use of rum and brandies, and the act for maintaining the peace with the Indians, were the only laws for Georgia passed during the whole twenty years of the proprietary period; and all three gave serious trouble, though Oglethorpe himself had urged their passage. The common council ordered a thousand copies of each law to be printed separately, in folio (London, John Baskett); but they seem never to have been reprinted, and so they are usually referred to with significant vagueness. The DeRenne Library has the first two, and also a photostat reproduction of the third, the only one in the Library of Congress. The John Carter Brown Library still lacks all three.

After resisting slavery for eighteen years the trustees were forced to yield in 1750. By 1742 rum was being imported and used so publicly that the trustees instructed their secretary in the province to wink at this violation of the law and to discourage seizures, but to see to it that alcoholic drinks were not sold except in houses licensed to sell beer. The Indian act forbade trading with Indians in Georgia except under license obtained in Georgia personally. This caused much ill-feeling in South Carolina, where the assembly published a whole volume on the subject in 1736, but this book studiously avoided quoting the act in full, and the authorities in London overruled the protest. Only very gradually and unwillingly the trustees were forced to modify in practice the complicated and annoying land laws for Georgia, all restrictions being removed in 1750.

All these matters and various others are treated fully and ably by Mr. McCain, who certainly deserves our thanks and congratulations.

The important periodical *Political State of Great Britain* (p. 347 and *passim*) of which there are incomplete sets in the Library of Congress, Columbia University and Harvard libraries, seems to be based, for Georgia, partly on Charleston newspapers.

LEONARD L. MACKALL.

Benjamin Franklin Self-revealed: a Biographical and Critical Study based mainly on his own Writings. In two volumes. By WILLIAM CABELL BRUCE. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1917. Pp. 544; 550. \$6.00.)

To say of Mr. Bruce's work, "At last a good book on Franklin!" would be an injustice to Parton, Bigelow, Stevens, Swift, McMaster, Hale, Ford, Morse, Smyth, Livingston, and many other commentators, expert and sympathetic, who have illuminated various aspects of a many-sided activity. The mere mention of these names, however, will suggest to the Franklinian the special opportunity prepared for the latest biographer. Since Parton's *Life and Times*, a capital performance for 1864, the primary duty of Franklin students has been the correction of the work of the early editors by reference to the manuscripts, and the collection, cataloguing, editing, and publication of constantly accumulating masses of new material. While this task was proceeding, many essays and partial portraits appeared; but Professor Smyth, most diligent of editors, could say as late as 1905, "I believe that no attempt has ever been made to take a comprehensive survey and estimate of Franklin's work."

Mr. Bruce's intention, one infers, was to produce a survey and estimate more comprehensive than that of any previous biographer; and he has been so far successful that nowhere else save in the complete works of Franklin can one find his subject so intimately and amply presented. He makes no profession of radically novel views or unpub-

lished documents. He assimilates and artistically composes materials made accessible by his predecessors, to whom it is a little regrettable that he denies himself the pleasure of offering more than casual and incidental acknowledgments. A substantial work of popularization may well afford a few prefatory pages for the gratification of those who are interested in literary genealogy and for the guidance of those in whom it rouses an appetite for sources. That Mr. Bruce's digestion of the writings of Franklin has not exhausted them, one may ascertain by comparing his index with that of Smyth under the words, for example, Germany, Sweden, and Spain.

The plan of his book suggests, however, that he was less concerned to make an exhaustive summary than a sumptuous representation. Following the chronological order only within the chapters, he disposes his material under the following headings: moral standing and system, religious beliefs, philanthropist and citizen, family relations, American friends, British friends, French friends, personal characteristics, man of business, statesman, man of science, and writer. The topics overlap here and there; a certain amount of repetition is unavoidable; but the method permits great detail with easy and limpid exposition, and is well adapted to display that inexhaustible energy which flowed so full-fraught through so many channels so serenely to the sea. From time to time, furthermore, the cumulative effect of the chapters is happily anticipated by some such synoptic sentence as this, crowding into the consciousness the total significance of Franklin's opposition to the Stamp Act:

To their assistance and to the assistance as well of the great body of wise and generous Englishmen who loved liberty too much at home to begrudge it to Englishmen in America, he brought his every resource, his scientific fame, his social gifts, his personal popularity, his knowledge of the world and the levers by which it is moved, the sane, searching mind, too full of light for bigotry, superstition, or confusion, the pen that enlisted satirical point as readily as grave dissertation in the service of instruction.

The sentence just quoted indicates fairly well the temper of Mr. Bruce's criticism. Every biographer of Franklin, he admits, "seems to adore him more or less in spite of occasional sharp shocks to adoration". This wily American, so seductive in his simplicity, disarms his critics one after another, educates them to a large tolerance, insensibly persuades them that some of their fieriest principles are foolish prejudices, some of their purity mere poverty of spirit, and that a man, like a book, should be judged by his accomplishment rather than by his omissions and his list of *errata*. He attempts to speak with judicial severity of his "unflinching nepotism", his sensuality, his occasional coarseness of speech and rankness of fancy, his senile gallantry, his traffic in slaves, and his verse such as "neither Gods nor men can endure". He even labors the point of his iniquity in treating his illegitimate son like his legitimate offspring, which I should have been disposed to attribute to

him for a virtue. But then he establishes with overwhelming weight of evidence his creative beneficence and wide-reaching good-will, his wit, his gayety, his overflowing geniality, his vast curiosity and teachableness, his resolute patriotism and immense public services, his political sagacity, and the breadth and elevation of his statesmanship. The dark or dubious points in his record sink into negligibility or are remembered almost with indulgence as so many more tokens of his opulent humanity. Without special pleading, merely by showing him as he was and allowing him at the right moments to speak for himself, his biographer brings one finally to the question: What wiser, abler, and—yes, take him all in all—what better man did that fertile eighteenth century produce than Benjamin Franklin? If Mr. Bruce adds little to the store of facts in the case, he makes a very genuine contribution to our appreciation of them by the skill with which he has arranged them to illustrate his own sense of Franklin's abundance and versatility, by his lively apprehension of pictorial and dramatic values, the firmness and occasional felicitous pungency of his style, his fidelity to the aims of biographical portraiture, and by his unfeigned relish for all the qualities of his sitter.

STUART P. SHERMAN.

Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton. By LEWIS A. LEONARD.
(New York: Moffat, Yard, and Company. 1918. Pp. 313.
\$2.50.)

MISS KATE M. ROWLAND's biography of the last survivor of the signers of the Declaration of Independence was issued so long ago, and so much material has since appeared bearing upon the life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, that a new study of his life might be of considerable interest. Thomas M. Field, in 1902, compiled and edited a considerable number of the unpublished letters of Carroll and his father, and the *Maryland Historical Magazine* has been printing (in volumes X.-XIII.), a notable series of letters between these two men, which series has not yet been completed. Curiously, Mr. Leonard has made no use of either of these sources. In truth, his list of sources is extremely vague and meagre, and the chief additional information which he gives comes from interviews he held, about fifty years ago, with the late J. H. B. Latrobe, who knew Carroll, when the latter was in his extreme old age. Mr. Leonard is not a scholarly investigator, and appends no foot-notes to his pages, but he has essayed to write a popular book. Former Governor Martin H. Glynn writes an enthusiastic introduction for the volume. The proof-reading was rather carelessly done: *e. g.*, "Sharf" for "Scharf" on page 35, and "Code" for "Coode" on page 37. There are occasional inaccuracies of statement: Brooklandwood is not Catonsville (p. 223); and Carroll died in a house on Lombard Street, and not Pratt Street (p. 257), while the common under-

standing in Frederick County, where Carrollton Manor (usually known as the Manor), is located, is that there was no residence house there (p. 80), where he could have resided. In an appendix, we find reprinted the *Journal* of Carroll on his expedition to Canada in 1776. Although the book is not long, a considerable number of pages are given to subjects rather remotely connected with Carroll's life; for example, a sketch of Lafayette at page 232, and an extract from Archbishop Ireland's address on Lafayette, extending from page 243 to 249.

The author is an extravagant admirer of his subject, and maintains that he

easily ranked next to Washington in the value of the service he rendered the patriotic cause in our Revolutionary struggle. He devoted more of his time and more of his money to the cause of the people than any other patriot. He spent more time with Washington at army headquarters than any other civilian, and was more closely identified with the purposes, impulses and activities of the great commander than any other man in or out of the army.

These are very high claims, and they are not sustained by the assertions made in subsequent chapters, while even these latter assertions are not supported by the evidence adduced in these chapters. First Citizen's victory over Antilon was not quite so decided as Mr. Leonard thinks (p. 89), and Carroll was not so supereminent over other Maryland leaders as to make it correct to say that, from the inception of the Revolutionary struggle, "he had *his* committees go right on with their work of preparation" (p. 109). Governor Eden's position and that of the proprietary are not correctly stated (pp. 100, 115). Carroll's part in the overthrow of the Conway Cabal (p. 171), in the forming of the French alliance (p. 174), in the financial work of Robert Morris (p. 190), was not so important as Mr. Leonard claims. In fine, one completes the work feeling that Carroll was a good representative of the lesser leaders of the Revolutionary period, but did not attain to the first rank.

BERNARD C. STEINER.

Educational Legislation and Administration in the State of New York from 1777 to 1850. By ELSIE GARLAND HOBSON, Head Mistress of the Phebe Anna Thorne Model School of Bryn Mawr College. [Supplementary Educational Monographs, vol. III., no. 1, whole no. 11.] (Chicago: University of Chicago. 1918. Pp. 267.)

THIS volume, within the self-imposed limitations by the author, is a very good compendium of educational legislation in New York state within the dates set. The author does not pretend to make a study of all of the forces acting in the state which led to the enactment of specific laws, but confines herself to an enumeration of the laws put upon

the statute-books, and to a certain amount of interpretation as to the way in which they worked in their actual administration. The brevity of treatment of the causes leading up to the proposal of various bills, and also of the causes for their repeal, is at times unsatisfying. Furthermore, the author does not attempt to treat all proposed bills which failed of enactment. This kind of topic is certainly one which throws great light on general legislation, and no treatise of educational legislation is really complete without it.

In the first chapter, on Formative Influences, the author shows how very influential immigrants from New England into New York state were in forming educational policies and demands. She attributes the backwardness of New York to the unfortunate coincidence that these immigrants came at a time when general enthusiasm for education, even in New England, was lacking.

Treatment is then given, in the following chapters, of the origin and development of the dual system of school control down to 1820, education under the Regents, the common school system, special legislation for cities, support of education, education of special classes. These chapters are followed by one giving a concise summary and a series of conclusions, appendixes containing lists of academies, acts granting support to them, societies established for general educational purposes, and a chronological list of laws relative to education from 1777 to 1850.

The act of 1795, and particularly the reasons for the failure of the senate to continue it in operation after its first years of trial, are not treated in a fashion to give any one a clear idea as to the failure of the continuance of the most important educational act in the early history of the state. An investigation even into some of the local archives, such as has been made by Dr. Seybolt of the University of Wisconsin, would have given a clear notion as to the working of this piece of educational legislation. Investigation into the town minutes of the towns of Long Island would force the author to modify the implication that in all parts of the state "elementary education was in the hands of private schools, or of religious or charitable organizations" (p. 25), and also the note on the same page that the school in the town of Clermont, in 1791, was the earliest one to which town support was given. To be sure, the schools maintained in the Long Island towns were, after the fashion of those in Connecticut, under the control of a theocratic government, but they were nevertheless given support by the towns at a very early date, the school-building being erected by the town and the teacher being selected and chosen by the same local unit. The teacher was paid, wholly or partly, by the fees of the parents who had children in the school, according to the general notion of rates then in vogue and which continued in practice down until the middle of the century. It can scarcely be maintained, however, that public support

was not given, at least in some parts of New York state, to schools earlier than 1791.

The paucity of records, of which the author complains on page 29, is of course actual if one considers only the records printed by the authorities at Albany. Throughout the Hudson River and Long Island counties records are frequently to be found in the offices of the town clerks which bear upon the schools of the various districts. The actual working of the law of 1795 will not be made clear until a thorough examination has been made of these records in local offices. The same is true of the statement with reference to "the meagre reports of the Regents", referred to on page 43. Many of the reports of the examinations of specific academies appear in the publications of those academies and are to be found there, even when they fail to appear in the general reports of the Board of Regents.

The author brings out, during the course of her narrative, interesting facts about educational topics which we sometimes think of as entirely modern. For example, we find that an agitation for manual training was active in 1826 (p. 46); that the same complaints on the part of adherents of the classical education were heard against anything like a practical education in 1836 (p. 48); that the district school system was felt to be just as great an evil in earlier times as it is at the present in this state (pp. 52, 53); that an excellent system of county superintendents was discontinued (p. 58); and that there was just as much aversion to paying teachers a decent wage as there is at the present time (p. 66).

It is unfortunate that the volume, so interesting in its general treatment and so filled with useful information, should have been printed in such small type, and that there should be evidence of a good deal of careless proof-reading. The index is extremely scanty, and from the bibliography there are omitted many important titles relating much more directly to educational legislation than many others which are included.

JAMES SULLIVAN.

History of Tammany Hall. By GUSTAVUS MYERS. Second edition. (New York: Boni and Liveright. 1917. Pp. xx, 414. \$2.50.)

"In most men's minds a certain spell of wonder attaches to the career and character of the Tammany Society and Tammany Hall. The long continuance of this dual power; its control of the city, infrequently interrupted, throughout the century; the nature of its principles, the method of its practices and the character of its personnel—all these combine to furnish a spectacle which exerts over the general mind a peculiar and strong fascination." With these words the author introduced the preface to the first edition, published in 1901. Curiosity led him to commence his investigation; difficulty induced him to pursue it. "The few narratives already published", says he, "were generally

found to be either extravagant panegyrics, printed under the patronage of the Tammany Society, or else partisan attacks, violent in style and untruthful in statement". His research, under these conditions, took him to the newspaper files back as far as 1789, to all available city histories and political pamphlets, to the minutes and documents of the common council of New York City and the legislative records of New York state, to the records of the courts, and to other sources too numerous to be mentioned here. "What I have sought to produce", says he, "is a narrative history—plain, compact and impartial. I have sought to avoid an indulgence, on the one hand, in political speculation, and on the other, in moralizing platitudes. Such deductions and generalizations as from time to time I have made, seem to me necessary in elucidating the narrative; without them the story would prove to the reader a mere chronology of unrelated facts." But in spite of this the author states that "the difficulties of securing the publication of this work by any of the regular publishing houses proved insurmountable". In the foreword to the present edition, he states that the first edition was to all intents and purposes "in the nature of a restricted private edition", and that for ten years prior to 1917 the work had been "in continuous demand but unavailable". An effort was made in 1913 to interest a number of publishers in bringing out a new edition, but the same reluctance to lock horns with Tammany Hall was encountered.

The narrative in the new edition covers the political activity of the Society of St. Tammany from the date of its organization in 1789 to the beginning of the last year of John Purroy Mitchel's term as mayor of New York City. A perusal of the sordid story, chapter by chapter and page by page, makes it clear that the author has in the main adhered to the policy outlined in his original preface. His book has some slight faults of diction and contains certain minor inaccuracies. For example, the name of the first mayor of Greater New York is given as "Robert C. Van Wyck", instead of "Robert A. Van Wyck" (p. 282); and at one point John A. Hennessy is referred to as "John W. Hennessy" (p. 369). There is a reference to "Corporation Council Delany (elected by Tammany Hall)" (p. 313), which should have been "Corporation Counsel Delany (appointed by a Tammany mayor)". There is a statement that charges were filed with the governor on December 12, 1915, requesting the removal of Public Service Commissioner McCall (p. 392), while a little further on it is stated that the governor removed McCall upon these charges on December 6, 1915. A present-day reader gets the impression that the author's supplementary chapters concerning the period that has elapsed since 1901 have not been prepared with quite the same painstaking accuracy as seems to characterize the major portion of the work. Perhaps for these later years the author depended too much upon his own knowledge and impressions, rather than upon historical research. But slight imperfections such as these cannot account for the difficulty experienced in securing a publisher.

The conclusion is irresistible that many publishing houses think it safer to publish thrilling political fiction than thrilling political history so far as New York City is concerned.

The author has rendered a great service. Yet, if anything, he is too optimistic. In his first preface, he said: "Imagination fails at picturing the metropolis that might have been, could the city throughout the century have been guided and controlled in the light of present-day civic ideals." Yet, in the supplementary chapters bringing the story down to 1917, an astonishing continuity of political abuses and corruption is shown. The author certainly made a mistake in departing from the rôle of the historian, in his last chapter, and assuming in a mild way the rôle of a political prophet. The book would have been stronger if he had stopped without commenting on the Mitchel administration, leaving that for a subsequent historian writing after the work of that administration was finished and the people's judgment recorded.

DELOS F. WILCOX.

Political Parties in Michigan, 1837-1860: an Historical Study of Political Issues and Parties in Michigan from the Admission of the State to the Civil War. By FLOYD BENJAMIN STREETER. [Michigan Historical Publications, University Series, IV.] (Lansing: Michigan Historical Commission. 1918. Pp. xxxiii, 401. \$1.00.)

THIS volume was begun a few years ago while the author was a graduate student in the University of Michigan, as a study for a doctoral dissertation. It sets forth the principal issues, leaders, divisions, factions, and party contests in Michigan during the quarter of a century prior to the Civil War. The volume contains a series of political maps and charts showing the geographical distribution of the voting strength of the respective parties as well as the sectional alignment in the state on questions like the tariff and internal improvement. The source and character of migration to Michigan is shown, accounting for the Jacksonian Democracy of the early Michigan voters. The local influences of the churches and of anti-slavery societies lead to the development of an anti-slavery party. It was true of Michigan that her early population came chiefly from these states, but it is quite an unsafe inference to say, as the author does, that the anti-slavery opinions of Western people were dependent on the source of their migration. Douglas came from Vermont and Lincoln from Kentucky, and the anti-slavery opinion and leadership of the Middle West below Michigan were found very largely in people of Southern antecedents. A doubtful summary of reasons is given for Michigan's anti-slavery sentiment that sound a good deal like standard pro-slavery sophistries and seem to have been suggested by the traditional apologies for slavery. Lack of knowledge of "low-grade negroes" and "typical blacks" had little or nothing to do with a people's anti-slavery convictions.

Michigan opinion on the Oregon question, the annexation of Texas, and the Wilmot Proviso is brought out, as also are the class divisions on the tariff, as between the laborers and farmers on the one hand and the commercial classes on the other. Cass reconciled to his leadership in his candidacy for the presidency and the Senate (1848-1849) many Democratic Free Soilers, as shown in the case of Governor Ransom, the Democratic governor of the state, who, while a supporter of Cass, was a pronounced advocate of the Wilmot Proviso.

Anti-alienism and the Know-nothing movement, and the influence of the temperance movement in the fifties, receive a fair share of attention. It is stated that prior to the Civil War about a sixth of the people of Michigan were foreign-born, chiefly from Germany, Ireland, England, and Canada. The respectable Whigs held themselves socially above these immigrants, while the Democrats were more nearly on their social plane, which is held to account for the predilection of the foreign-born for the Democratic party. So the Know-nothing party was largely a party of the conservative Whigs, who had little interest in the slavery question while the transition was taking place from Whiggism to Republicanism. The organization of the Republican party in Michigan is properly emphasized, and it is shown to be a culmination of the movements of radical Democrats and of the coalitions between Whigs and Free Soilers on the issues of national politics in the later forties and early fifties. The influence exerted toward this end by the local press, by local meetings, conventions, and church conferences is very fully and effectively set forth. The chapter on the Churches in Michigan Politics is one of distinct value, illustrating very well the real underlying forces in our politics; how the many rills are produced that feed the great stream of public sentiment, and how the great national movements have their beginnings in local ways—in the churches, school-houses, neighborhoods, and homes of the people.

Mr. Streeter brings out the dissatisfaction and uncertain future of the Republican party in its early days; then its growth, together with the Democratic decline, closing with a very interesting account of the Lincoln campaign in Michigan. The volume is a valuable local study well worth doing and quite helpful to a student of our national political history. A student of our general history may feel that the volume is too closely local, and that opportunity has not been enough used to point out the historical significance of state struggles or to relate the story of Michigan political life to the life of the nation at large. The appendix contains the two constitutions of Michigan, of 1835 and 1850; a table of population in the counties by decades up to 1860; and a complete and very valuable bibliography, citing speeches, sermons, pamphlets, newspapers, periodicals, and volumes which were the sources of the author's study. Such doctors' dissertations should be encouraged in the states.

J. A. W.

Confederate Literature: a List of Books and Newspapers, Maps, Music, and Miscellaneous Matter printed in the South during the Confederacy, now in the Boston Athenaeum. Prepared by CHARLES N. BAXTER and JAMES M. DEARBORN, with an Introduction by JAMES FORD RHODES. (Boston: the Athenaeum. 1917. Pp. x, 213. \$1.25.)

VARYING fortunes of war, peace, and reconstruction soon destroyed or dispersed many of the Confederate archives, documents, and publications, official and unofficial, usually poorly printed and unbound. The original manuscripts of the Provisional and Permanent Constitutions of the Confederacy, and the official volume of (transcribed) opinions of the Confederate attorneys general, 1861-1865, were found by a Southern war-correspondent, F. G. de Fontaine, in boxes from Richmond just abandoned at Chester, S. C., in April, 1865! In 1883 he sold the Permanent Constitution to Mrs. G. W. J. DeRenne of Savannah. W. W. Corcoran then bought the Provisional Constitution and presented it to the Southern Historical Society, so that it is now in the Confederate Museum at Richmond. In November, 1897, the opinions of the attorneys general were sold to the New York Public Library (*cf. Ga. Hist. Quarterly*, June, 1918, pp. 73, 74, notes). Naturally much came into the possession of the United States government, and thus the Confederate portion of that vast *omnium-gatherum*, the *Official Records*, became possible. Later the *Journals* of the Confederate Congress also were similarly made readily accessible to all.

J. R. Bartlett's 1866 catalogue lists such Confederate material as he had obtained, but Sabin's *Dictionary of Books relating to America* went much farther. The fine collection, including an extraordinary series of Confederate Congressional bills and reports, formed by Levi Z. Leiter, was carefully catalogued by H. A. Morrison (1907). D. S. Freeman's very scholarly *Confederate Museum Calendar* (Richmond, 1908) is of unusual value, as might be expected, and the Virginia State Library has issued lists including Confederate official publications, Southern periodicals, and Virginia imprints.

Now we have this handsome volume listing the Confederate imprints in the Boston Athenaeum. The interesting introduction by Mr. Rhodes explains that the collection was formed "say 1865-66" by an Athenaeum committee of which Francis Parkham and the librarian, W. F. Poole, were the most active members. They went to work promptly, with great energy and with remarkable results, securing just in time many rare newspapers, periodicals, and other ephemeral publications. The contents of this volume are as follows: I. Introduction by Mr. Rhodes, II. Confederate States Publications, III. State Publications, IV. Miscellaneous Books, V. Tracts, VI. Music, VII. Maps, Broad-sides, etc., VIII. Newspapers and Periodicals, followed by an index to the whole volume.

The book being a mere list, not a regular catalogue or bibliography, there are no collations by signatures, nor is the alignment of the title-pages indicated as had been done in Freeman's *Calendar*, but the titles are given in full, authors of anonymous works are named when known, the pagination and size are given, and there are many concise notes as to cover-titles, contents, etc. The compilers have evidently done their work very carefully, and the book is well printed, both as regards appearance and accuracy.

Without demanding additional notes in general, I think that in two exceptional instances at least they should be added:

The *Declaration of the immediate causes which induce and justify the Secession of South Carolina* (Charleston, 1860, 13 pp.) on page 55 of the present volume, should be emphatically distinguished from the surreptitious, spurious, counterfeit reprint, which though smaller in size and more modern in appearance might readily deceive the unwarned. Mr. T. L. Cole, our chief authority on such legal literature, informs me that the counterfeit is most readily identified by its misprint: *Pren't* Convention for *Pres't* Convention on p. [11]. The Americus Book Company of Americus, Georgia, admits that the counterfeit was made for them, but can no longer ascertain who printed it in Americus, just when it was done, or how many copies printed. They are still being sold however.

Surely it is also worth noting (*cf.* Freeman, p. 540, and the Bibliography of Confederate Text-Books, p. 1150, by the late Stephen B. Weeks, in the *Report of the United States Commissioner of Education for 1898-1899*) that Mrs. M. B. Moore's *Primary Geography, arranged as a Reading Book for Common Schools, with Questions and Answers Attached* (second ed., Raleigh, 1864—*cf.* B. A. List, p. 115) concludes with the remarkable colloquy (p. 47, not in the first edition!):

Q. Has the Confederate States any commerce?

A. A fine inland commerce, and bids fair, sometime, to have a grand commerce on the high seas.

Q. What is the present drawback to our trade?

A. An unlawful Blockade by the miserable and hellish Yankee Nation.

Numerous important and really interesting items not mentioned in the present *List* may indeed be found in various other libraries. Thus the DeRenne Library has the *Ordinance of Secession* of the "Republic of Georgia" as originally printed on satin at Augusta; the rare original edition (Montgomery, 1861, pp. 15) of the *Constitution of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America*; and Richard Malcolm Johnston's anonymous and almost unknown volume *Georgia Sketches by an Old Man* (Augusta, 1864) which later reappeared in his *Dukesborough Tales*.

But take it for all in all, and considering its wide variety and scope, Mr. Rhodes is undoubtedly right when he concludes that the Athenaeum

collection "possesses inestimable value". We can only be grateful for this excellent and remarkably cheap check-list which serves as its key.

LEONARD L. MACKALL.

A Survey of International Relations between the United States and Germany, August 1, 1914-April 6, 1917. Based on Official Documents. By JAMES BROWN SCOTT. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1917. Pp. cxvi, 390. \$5.00.)

DR. SCOTT has put on his title-page two examples of the thought and purpose of Germany and America, which intimate the lesson of the book. They are as follows: "Know once and for all that in the matter of king-craft we take when we can, and that we are never wrong unless we have to give back what we have taken" (Frederick the Great, *Les Matinées Royales*, circa 1764); and, "The true honor and dignity of the Nation are inseparable from justice" (Albert Gallatin, *Peace with Mexico*, 1847).

The work aims to show, first, in an introduction of ninety-five pages, the German Conception of the State, International Policy, and International Law. The author has followed the scriptural method, "Out of thine own mouth will I judge thee", and begins with a series of extracts, given exactly, from Frederick the Great, Frederick William IV., and William II., German emperor, from Bismarck, von Moltke, and Bethmann-Hollweg, from Hegel, Clausewitz, Arndt, Mommsen, Lasson, Rümelin, Treitschke, Bernhardi, and the *Kriegsbrauch im Landkriege* (1902) given out by the General Staff. He does not assert but convincingly establishes the character and purpose of Germany, during a period of nearly two hundred years, by the considered words of her sovereigns, her principal statesmen, and her most eminent philosophers, scholars, and soldiers.

They exhibit her as dominated and directed by consistent schemes of aggression, tempered by no regard for the rights of others, of justice and humanity, or her own solemn engagements. Thus Frederick the Great in 1741 wrote his minister de Podewils (p. xxii): "If there is anything to be gained by it, we will be honest; if deception is necessary, let us be cheats." . . . "maintain vigorously this maxim, that to despoil your neighbors is to take away from them the means of doing you injury" (p. xxiii). . . . "When Prussia, dear Nephew, shall have made her fortune, she will then be able to assume an air of good faith and of constancy such as, at the most, becomes only great states and little sovereigns." . . . "Attach yourselves especially to those possessing the talent of expressing themselves in vague, ponderous, or ambiguous phrases. You will make no mistake in keeping some political locksmiths and doctors; they may be of great use to you. I know from experience all the advantages to be derived through them" (p. xxvii).

Frederick William IV. in 1847 declared from the throne, "All written

constitutions are only scraps of paper" (p. xlii). Bismarck said later, "Treaties are scraps of paper" (p. xlvii), and Bethmann-Hollweg in 1914 applied the same term, "Just for a scrap of paper Great Britain was going to make war" (p. cxiii). "'World power or ruin' is the watchword forced upon us by the evolution of history", said Bernhardi (p. xciii). Again Lasson wrote: "Right and morality do not bind the will of the state. There is but one thing which may hinder the state in the pursuit of its selfish interests, namely, fear of a foreign power. It is only toward the weak that a state acts boldly and dares to do what it pleases", and again, "A people that cannot hate what is alien to it, are a wretched people, unworthy of independence and destined to be plundered and robbed" (p. lxiii). Treitschke jeers at the moral authority and the restraints of international law, and the *Kriegsbrauch im Landkriege* specifically states: "Every means of war, without which the object of the war cannot be attained, may be resorted to" (p. xcii).

Secondly, this introduction of quotations is followed by nineteen chapters whose headings show their scope: Genesis of the War of 1914, the Neutrality of the United States, German Charges of Unneutral Conduct, Censorship of Communications, Unlawful Seizure of Persons upon the High Seas, Restraints on Commerce, Sale of Munitions of War, Miscellaneous Complaints, Submarine Warfare, Reprisals, Belligerent Use of Neutral Flag, Mines, War Zones and Blockades, Status of Merchant Vessels, Accepted Rules of Maritime Warfare, Renewal of Submarine Warfare, Severance of Diplomatic Relations and Proclamation of Armed Neutrality, Declaration of War, Why not Arbitration? Freedom of the Seas, Conclusion, and Postscriptum, giving the President's reply to the peace appeal of the Pope and his address to Congress on December 4, 1917, and the resolutions on and declaration of war with Austria.

The letter of Senator Stone, chairman of the foreign relations committee of the Senate, dated January 8, 1915, addressed to the Secretary of State, reported twenty several grounds of complaint as to partiality on the part of the United States toward Great Britain, France, and Russia, as against Germany and Austria. The reply of the Secretary of State to these several complaints is discussed, and the text arranges itself largely about these answers.

Dr. Scott's scholarly discussion fully sustains the conclusions of that reply. He has gathered in a lucid, somewhat continuous, and highly interesting narrative, the incidents and documents exhibiting the relations of our own government with that of Germany during the last four years, with full consideration, also, of the earlier treaties. He has given exact and copious references for all citations, and he has discussed doctrines and practices in the light of generally accepted and declared beliefs and customs, citing often the highest German authorities as well as those of the United States and the nations of the Entente. He is able to show conclusively a constant and unflinching disregard of

those authorities and breach of those customary rules on the part of the Central Powers.

His treatment is comprehensive, his method fair, and his temper restrained and moderate. His knowledge of the authorities, Continental and American alike, is both wide and precise. One small error seems to have intervened on page 224, when he speaks of a well-known incident in the Franco-Prussian War as "the destruction by the French cruiser *Desaix* of Prussian cruisers on the high seas". The vessels destroyed by the *Desaix* were, it is believed, not cruisers but "merchantmen", and Dr. Scott quotes Bismarck to that effect on page 238, so that he himself corrects this small inaccuracy.

The quotation (p. 311) from a note of William Pulteney to Pitt, dated September 14, 1786, to the effect that "It is to be considered whether this is not a good opportunity to ingraft upon this treaty some arrangement that may effectually tend to prevent future wars, at least for a considerable time", is one of the apt and frequent extracts with which the foot-notes abound. The whole scheme for a world's league seems foreshadowed in Pulteney's statement: "It very frequently occurred to my mind that if France and England understood each other, the world might be kept in peace from one end of the globe to the other." The vision of Pulteney has not been realized though almost a century and a half have passed since then, and, at the end of by far the most sanguinary war of all time, our leaders and those of the Entente are striving to enlarge it into a world-wide law.

In his conclusion Dr. Scott concurs in the statement by the President of the case against the Imperial German Government, and finds that "the reasons given are causes, not pretexts, that the motives and purposes are sincere and sufficient". It is believed that any careful reader of his valuable work must concur with him in this opinion and be strengthened in his conviction as to the justice and necessity of the course ultimately taken by the United States government.

The words of Adolf Lasson, quoted from *Das Culturideal und der Krieg* by Dr. Scott (p. lvii) are not at present ungrateful to us. They are these: "The outcome of war is therefore always righteous; it is a true judgment of God."

CHARLES NOBLE GREGORY.

The United States in the World War. By JOHN BACH McMASTER, Professor of American History in the University of Pennsylvania. (New York and London: D. Appleton and Company. 1918. Pp. 485. \$3.00.)

THIS is one of the first of the long line of volumes that American historians will some day write to describe the part America played in the Great War. It is not as compact and clear-cut as the volumes by Gauss or Rogers for it has a more inclusive purpose.

Three hundred and fifty of its 460 pages cover the opening of the war in Europe, the pro-German propaganda, Belgian relief, the controversies over neutral trade and the submarine, the German plots and intrigues in the United States, the pacifist and preparedness agitation, the exchange of notes preceding the diplomatic break, and the entry of the United States into the war. The remaining 110 pages deal with our declaration of war and its reception abroad, mobilization, the German-American press and German intrigues, rationing and fighting, and the international peace debate.

The method of treatment is strongly reminiscent of Professor McMaster's previous work. Newspapers are freely quoted and bridging paragraphs leave some uncertainty as to whether you are reading Professor McMaster's views or summaries of other press comment. As the press quotations are somewhat heavily from the German-American press, the pacifist agitators, the bewildered and hedging congressmen, and the Philadelphia and seaboard papers, the future or even the contemporary reader may well wonder what it was that led us to national conviction and unity behind the President. It is too early to measure all the forces and influences that swayed the silent millions, but the analysis could have been forced a little farther even at present.

If the paragraph (p. 351) in which the author describes April 2, 1917, in Washington, were all that a future generation could have as an epitome of the way America felt, it would be puzzled. The President, it may be recalled, read his war message to the Congress at the unusual hour of half-past eight in the evening.

All day long the pacifists had been active in their opposition. They sought to get possession of the Capitol steps up which the President was to go; but were dispersed by the police. Some entered the room of the Vice-President, behaved in an unseemly manner and were put out. Others attacked Senator Lodge. It became necessary as a means of precaution to guard the approaches to the Capitol with two troops of cavalry, and put secret service men and police on guard in the corridors. Another troop of cavalry guarded the President while on his way to the Capitol from the White House. Never on any former visit had he met with such applause, such cheering, as greeted him as he entered the Chamber of the House, walked to the Speaker's desk and looked out upon an excited audience, almost every member of which was waving or wearing a national flag.

What was behind a President who went through the streets of our national capital in peril of his personal safety to urge war upon a Congress that enthusiastically welcomed him, might be made clearer by some quotations not in the book—as for instance the declarations of the spokesmen of labor on March 12. Most curious of all omissions is the campaign of 1916. Mr. Hughes is not mentioned in the book; Mr. Roosevelt is but briefly quoted, and the pro-war group in press and public scarcely appear. The Entente propaganda, *e. g.*, the intelligent work of the Wellington House group, is given no place. The Presi-

dent's notes, although essential in clarifying the issues down to incontrovertible essentials, could be more richly supplemented by the whole series of addresses after 1915 in which he brought the conflict to a plane where the people grasped it as a moral issue for which America could fight in self-defense and without imperialistic purposes.

The book reads easily and presents a great body of material interestingly. The hundred pages on America in the war are strong and effective, with gaps, of course, such as the work of the National Research Council and the State Defense Councils, that can better be supplied by later writers.

It is a matter of congratulation that at least one historian has not waited until the last word is in to write on America in the war. The field should not be left to the journalistic historian. But even the historian, and this is the reviewer's chief complaint, must realize that the *Literary Digest* and the *Congressional Record* no longer compass all the utterances that represent public opinion in America.

Narrative of Some Things of New Spain and of the Great City of Temestitan Mexico. Written by the ANONYMOUS CONQUEROR, a Companion of Hernan Cortes. Translated into English and annotated by MARSHALL H. SAVILLE. [Documents and Narratives concerning the Discovery and Conquest of Latin America, published by the Cortes Society, no. 1.] (New York: Cortes Society. 1917. Pp. 93.)

An Account of the Conquest of Peru. Written by PEDRO SANCHO, Secretary to Pizarro and Scrivener to his Army. Translated into English and annotated by PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS. [*Id.*, no. 2.] (*Ibid.* 1917. Pp. 203.)

THIS new society produces handsome books, and has plans which, properly executed, will greatly promote knowledge of its chosen field. The plan is, to print well-annotated translations of original documents and narratives of early Latin-American history that have not heretofore appeared in English. The choices made for the first two issues are excellent. What the Anonymous Conqueror has to say of the natives of New Spain and of their great city, though brief, is of first-hand value, and, now that we have such excellent English versions of the letters of Cortés and the chronicle of Bernal Diaz as those published by Mr. MacNutt and by the Hakluyt Society, perhaps nothing else has a superior claim. Pedro Sancho is less candid and requires more correction, but an extended narrative by a secretary of Pizarro, covering events from the execution of Atahualpa till after the settlement of Cuzco, August, 1533-July, 1534, cannot fail to be of high value, and has been so regarded by historians from Prescott down.

But if the publications of the Cortes Society are to take the rank which its founders desire them to have, more care must be bestowed on

their execution. These two narratives have come down to us, not in their Spanish originals, but only in Italian versions printed in the third volume of Ramusio (pp. 304v-310r, 398v-414v, respectively). It was the obvious duty of the editors to translate directly from Ramusio's Italian. Instead they have translated, and not always correctly, from the translations into Spanish printed by Joaquín García Icazbalceta, the anonymous narrative in the first volume of his *Documentos Inéditos*, that of Sancho in an appendix to his Spanish translation of Prescott's *Peru* (Mexico, 1850), vol. II., and vol. VIII. of his *Obras*. Now Icazbalceta's translations are by no means accurate, and though the editors say that they have compared their version with the Italian, it often fails, as would be expected from the process they have followed, to represent the latter faithfully. In several of the notes to Sancho (notes 56, 57, 82, 120), against passages which the editor thinks obscure, he gives the reader the *Spanish* text, from Icazbalceta's translation, instead of the Italian.

In the translator's preface to Sancho, which is far too meagre to serve as any introduction to the critical or even intelligent reading of the narrative, he says that a small portion of it was printed by the Hakluyt Society in 1872, in *Reports on the Discovery of Peru*, edited by the late Sir Clements Markham. But the Sancho document there printed is something quite different, a list of the shares of plunder distributed at Caxamarca, having nothing to do with our *Relatione*. It was taken from Manuel José Quintana's *Vidas de Españoles Célebres* (Paris, 1845), pp. 185-190, and Markham so states; and Quintana says that he got it from an unpublished manuscript of Francisco López de Caravantes, "Noticia General del Perú, Tierra Firme, y Chile".

The annotations seem to be excellent when they turn upon matters of aboriginal archaeology, of which the editors evidently have much first-hand knowledge. Some of the other notes, however, show great want of care. Where Sancho estimates the treasures of gold wrung from Atahualpa in *pesos* (p. 10), a note explains that "the *peso* is about an ounce". The *peso* of silver was about an ounce (423.7 Troy grains), but the *peso d'oro* was only about 79 grains. Still worse is note 25 in the other volume, about the *marchetto* (Ramusio, a Venetian, is here speaking in terms of Venetian money). It reads, "A small piece of copper money with the effigy of San Marcos [why not St. Mark?] which is worth about two sous of a franc:—Note by Ternaux". This is a meaningless expression, and is a mistranslation of a note by Icazbalceta (I. 381, "dos centavos de franco"), who borrows it from Ternaux Compans's French translation of the Anonymous (*Voyages*, X. 73, "environ deux centimes"), and that book itself was perfectly accessible to any editor, and all three are wrong! The *marchetto* was at this time a Venetian silver coin of three grammes weight (*Corp. Numm. Ital.*, VII. 228), a little larger than our dime. But it is a frequent habit of editors of old documents, and indeed of historians too, to treat with indifference

all statements of money, weights, and measures, and in the case of money to ignore the wide distinction between specific value, or coin-weight, and present purchasing power, though the frequent result is to leave the numerical statement without meaning.

The Early History of Cuba, 1492-1586. Written from Original Sources by I. A. WRIGHT. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1916. Pp. xvii, 390. \$2.00.)

THIS book represents two years of research in the Archivo General de Indias at Seville. "Not one document", says the author, "concerning Cuba in one thousand that exist at Seville has been made public in any way" (p. xv). "I have ignored secondary sources because I know that there has passed through my hands a greater wealth of material for the writing of the history of Cuba than any other person has handled" (p. xvi). "It is not easy, as circumstances now are, for any person who may become my critic to make that examination" (p. xvi). The reviewer quotes the above that it may appear sufficiently clear that he cannot be expected to examine any statement of fact contained in the work, but must consider the merits of the book in a general way.

No previous account of the period is so extensive. Miss Wright's work for that period is more detailed and more satisfactory in every sense than those of Arrate, *Llave del Nuevo Mundo*, written in 1761; Urrutia y Montoya, *Teatro Histórico*, written in 1791; Valdés, *Historia de la Isla de Cuba* (Habana, 1813); Guiteras, *Historia de la Isla de Cuba* (New York, 1856-1866, two vols.); Pezuela, *Historia de la Isla de Cuba* (Madrid, 1868-1878, four vols.); and Rodríguez Ferrer, *Naturaleza y Civilización de la Grandiosa Isla de Cuba*, vol. II. (Madrid, 1887).

Regarding the plan of the work, some objection can justly be raised. It is strictly a chronological history, containing a minute narrative of facts, woven together with a great deal of skill and scrupulous regard for accuracy. But it would, perhaps, have been more useful to have made a separate record of the different phases of the island's history during the period: for instance, discovery, settlements, government, finance, aborigines, slave labor, commerce and industry, social life, religion, military and naval activities, invasion by pirates, etc. The book as written is divided into four parts: I., 1492-1524, Spain takes Possession of Cuba; II., 1524-1550, an Era of Stagnation; III., 1550-1567, French Influence; and IV., 1567-1586, the Menace of the English. The narrative has been supplemented and continued in a series of articles published in *La Reforma Social* (Havana and New York), in the issues of September, October, and November, 1916, and November, 1917, entitled "El Gobierno de Gabriel de Luján en Cuba, 1579-1589". In addition this magazine has published two studies on the origins of the sugar industry and the origins of mining in Cuba by Miss Wright (issues of April and June, 1916, respectively).

Miss Wright's purpose was, it appears, to write a history of Cuba, and to do this from original documents. In two years she was able to produce a book covering the first century of the island's history. If she were able to continue the task, it would be many years before the history of Cuba would be written by her. Any interruption would leave the work unfinished, as planned by her. But conceding that her plan were fully carried out, a notable contribution to the history of Cuba would certainly have been made, yet we could hardly say that the history of Cuba had been written, for this task is plainly beyond the resources of any one individual, and requires many hands for many years or decades. Without denying in any way the value of Miss Wright's work, it would have been in the long run a better service to the cause of historical investigation, if Miss Wright had abandoned the idea of writing history and had undertaken the task of preparing a guide to the materials for Cuban history in the Archivo de Sevilla. If possible, as a complement to this work, she might have published and edited such documents as seemed to her most useful. Such a book would have had as ready a sale as the present one, and would have served as a spur to investigation. In spite of Miss Wright's book, the historian will have to go over all the work that she has done, for her book is an abridgment. A true history of the period from 1492 to 1589 requires at least ten times as many pages as Miss Wright has devoted to it, for the material, as she confesses, is enormous in bulk and deals with events of the greatest interest.

There are no foot-notes to this book. At the beginning of each part is a brief note of the *legajos* or bundles containing material for the period, the reference being to the number or class-mark of the bundles. It will, therefore, be impossible to trace the statements made in the book, except by going over the thousands of documents forming the *legajos* mentioned by Miss Wright, until one discovers the particular document containing the facts which one desires to verify. This is the gravest defect of the book—but she thinks it unavoidable.

It is also to be regretted that Miss Wright did not employ Spanish for writing her book, for in this language she would have been able to reproduce the text of the documents literally in many cases, and the book would have commanded a greater number of readers. A Spanish translation cannot be satisfactorily made, for the quotations from documents when re-translated would not agree with the originals.

Whatever criticism may be made against Miss Wright's book is not sufficient, however, to destroy the evident merit of her work, which is very conscientious, skillful, and scholarly. No book yet written on the history of Cuba can be considered superior to it in these particulars.

LUIS MARINO PÉREZ.

Santo Domingo: a Country with a Future. By OTTO SCHOENRICH.
(New York: Macmillan Company. 1918. Pp. xiv, 418. \$3.00.)

In addition to a long introductory historical sketch and a chapter on the Remains of Columbus, this volume contains conscientiously informative chapters on area and boundaries, flora and fauna, transportation, commerce, cities, the people, religion, education and literature, government, politics and revolution, law and justice, finances and debt, and the future of the country; and scattered biographical data of historical importance. Judge Schoenrich knows intimately the Dominican people, and their land even in its remote recesses. The reader relies upon this personal knowledge; and this reliance is increased by the repeated evidences of the author's shrewd common sense, and of his very evident desire to be fair to the Dominican people.

The chronological, historical sketch (pp. 1-96) is not very satisfying. Very many of its data are advantageously repeated in later chapters. Still more could well have been thus disposed of, and the remainder subjected to some analysis and topical synthesis. The chapter on the Remains of Columbus (pp. 276-302)—with diagrams, drawings, and translations of documents—is less full than the portion of Thacher's *Christopher Columbus* (III. 534-613) dealing with the same subject, but it is conscientious and excellent (and the translations from Spanish are better than Mr. Thacher's). The author states in his preface that he has "endeavored to read all books of any consequence which have been published with reference to Santo Domingo", and he includes in his bibliography three studies on the problem of Columbus's remains; he does not list, however, HARRISSE's somewhat over-argued essay *Los Restos de Don Cristoval Colón* (Seville, 1878), nor the volume by Roque Cocchia (*Los Restos de Cristobal Colón*, Santo Domingo, 1879), apostolic delegate to Santo Domingo in 1877 and in charge of the exhumation of that year, nor the Spanish Academy's intemperate and unsatisfying *Los Restos de Colón, Informe de la Real Academia de la Historia* (Madrid, 1879)—not to mention other contributions to the controversy, including Mr. Thacher's. In short, the chapter does not represent exhaustive research, yet such research would probably only have confirmed the author in his conclusion that the remains of Columbus rest in the cathedral church of Santo Domingo. "The Spanish writers", as Judge Schoenrich says (and the same is true of HARRISSE), "present no proof that the remains taken to Havana in 1795 were those of Christopher Columbus, but limit themselves to attacking the find of 1877. . . . On the whole, the weight of evidence is strongly in favor of the Dominican contention." This conclusion seems to the reviewer sound (as it evidently seemed to Mr. Thacher), although the truth cannot be now, and probably never will be, conclusively proved.

A real defect is the omission of a chapter on economic history. Various data in this field can be located through the index ("bucca-

neers", "corsairs", "mining", "negroes", "population", "slavery", etc.), but the index is decidedly incomplete. The chapters on politics and government are decidedly the best of the book, but there is hardly a specific reference to the difficulties in the way of self-government (pp. 175, 326 ff.); and the discussion of constitutions and their changes, and of revolutions, ignores many fundamental questions that any student of government would immediately propound.

The most that can be said is that the book is welcome for what it is—a fair-minded, conscientious, glorified guide-book, with many historical data. In physical make-up and appearance, too, the volume leaves little to be desired. (Misprints: pp. 34, 52, 123. Inconsistent dates: pp. 52 and 48, 279 and 337.)

F. S. P.

MINOR NOTICES

The Theory of Environment, an Outline of the History of the Idea of Milieu, and its Present Status. By Armin Hajman Koller, Ph.D., Instructor in German in the University of Illinois. (Menasha, Wisconsin, George Banta Publishing Company, 1918, pp. 104, \$1.00.) This small volume forms the first part of an extended treatise to be published shortly. It consists almost wholly of quotations and brief summaries setting forth the views of a great number of writers on the influence of environment in history. In a rather superfluous Introductory Remark (pp. 1-6) the author sketches the history of the word "milieu" as signifying environment. Then in two chapters (pp. 7-92) he traverses "the history of the idea of milieu" from the Hebrew prophets down to the present day, this history consisting entirely of citations from individual authors arranged in chronological sequence. In a brief concluding summary (pp. 93-96) he attempts to gather up the results of his study.

It goes without saying that an authoritative treatise in this difficult field must come from the hand of a scholar thoroughly at home in both geography and history. Such the present writer appears not to be. The standpoint of his book is that of the philologist or literary worker, not that of the scientist or historian. The author shows inadequate power of discrimination between great names and small. Little special stress is laid on the writers who have exercised fundamental influence on the development of modern anthropo-geography. In many instances he seems to have read about the authors he cites rather than to have read them for himself. His book has a certain value as a concise guide to the literature in the field. But it does not present a coherent history of the doctrine of environment. Least of all does it set out in a clear light the constructive evolution of the science of anthropo-geography in its relations with the modern scientific movement and the new history. Such an achievement is intrinsically beyond the powers of any but the broadest and most mature scholarship.

A. B. S.

A Nation Trained in Arms or a Militia? Lessons in War from the Past and the Present. By Lieutenant-General Baron von Freytag-Loringhoven of the German Imperial Staff. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1918, pp. xxvii, 222, \$1.25.) The author of this book, who, in 1917, was deputy chief of the German General Staff, and who was decorated with the order *Pour le Mérite* (peace class) in recognition of his contributions to military literature, has written with the tacit assumption that international rivalries and wars will continue in the future and that consequently military preparedness is a national obligation. In deciding upon a system of military training, the choice lies between a national army and a militia. Keeping in view the author's official position, and the fact that he was writing at the close of 1917 when the German armies were still looking for victory in the field, one could almost forecast the conclusion that the safety of Germany in the future "can only be guaranteed by a firmly-knit, trained, national army, not by a militia".

This conclusion is based on an interesting survey of the military history of Europe and America from the close of the Thirty Years' War to 1917, in which we have a description of the chief systems for raising armed forces employed on either continent, with an examination of the efficiency of these systems when tested by actual warfare. One very entertaining chapter discusses the views of the opponents of obligatory national military training in Germany. The plan of the work, prepared to instruct the general public, leaves no opportunity for an original contribution to military history, and the facts presented and conclusions drawn agree in general with those of other military historians of repute. However, one may reasonably say that the author underestimates the degree of efficiency attained by the Union armies at the close of the Civil War. On the whole, this is a very readable and reliable sketch of the development of the pre-war military systems of Europe.

The introduction to the translation, by a British general, Sir C. E. Callwell, ably summarizes the work and criticizes some of the author's personal judgments.

A. E. R. BOAK.

A Short History of Rome. By Guglielmo Ferrero and Corrado Barbagnolo. Volume I. *The Monarchy and the Republic, from the Foundation of the City to the Death of Julius Caesar, 754 B.C.-44 B.C.* (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1918, pp. vii, 510, \$1.90.) In its treatment of the history of the monarchy and the republic, the first characteristic feature of this book which will attract the attention of the reader is its tendency to adhere to tradition for the early period. This tendency leads the author, for instance, to believe (p. 26) that the monarchy was very possibly overthrown by a revolution, and not gradually displaced; it leads him to accept the treaty of 509 B.C. with Carthage and its traditional date (p. 29), the authenticity of the Licinio-

Sextian laws (p. 60), and the story of the first Samnite war, so called (p. 69). Naturally he has little sympathy with the methods of the skeptical school of Roman historians (*cf.* pp. iv, 2, 5, 29 n., 60 n., 69, 219 n.). A second notable feature of the volume is the fact that 300 of its 483 pages are devoted to military history. Its third characteristic calls for a few words of special comment. Since the appearance of Professor Frank's work on *Roman Imperialism*, it seems to the reviewer impossible to assign to capitalism and commercialism the important rôle which Ferrero gives them in shaping the foreign policy of Rome from the middle of the third century to the latter part of the second (*cf.* pp. 131, 150, 211, 231-232, 242). All the signs of commercialism are lacking in the middle republican period. Rome did not require Carthage to give up her policy of closing Punic ports in 241 or in 201 (Frank, *op. cit.*, p. 283). So far as our information goes, she did not establish in this period export or import prohibitions, differential tariffs, or commercial monopolies, and Ferrero seems to have entirely overestimated the importance of the *societates*. Frank has shown (*op. cit.*, p. 292) that as late as the middle of the second century public contracts probably involved not more than one per cent. of the capital of the *equites*.

The author's theory of the relation of Rome to Etruria is attractive. He thinks it probable that Rome conquered Etruria, that Rome became the metropolis for Etruscan trade, and that the conflicts of the early period were episodes in the struggle between the Etruscan commercial and the Latin agricultural tradition. The Etruscan element triumphed in the timocratic constitution of Servius, the Latin, in the overthrow of the monarchy. The book contains some admirable descriptions of social and economic conditions, although in this connection it is strange that almost nothing is said (pp. 146, 270) about the Sicilian tax system and nothing at all about the significance of the transmarine colonial policy of C. Gracchus (p. 273). While the reviewer cannot agree with some of the conclusions which the author has reached, he has found the book fascinating and stimulating, as all Ferrero's works are.

FRANK FROST ABBOTT.

French Protestantism, 1559-1562. By Caleb Guyer Kelly. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, series XXXVI., no. 4.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1918, pp. viii, 185, \$1.25.) This is a volume marked by repetition; and the author has been somewhat swamped by the multitude of details, so that the general outlines of the period are obscured. Yet the reader will be repaid by much information as to the three eventful years of French history which constitute the theme. The author's interest is primarily economic and he makes abundantly evident the unrest of the artisan class of France which, with its enterprise, disposed it to welcome innovation and, therefore, to favor the reform. On the other hand, the economic situation of the peasantry led to content and adhesion to the older faith. A

wealth of detail is cited in support of these propositions. In higher circles the influence of hostility to the Guises is traced. Unquestionably the wars of religion in France were struggles into which very mixed motives entered, and this volume helps to make evident their complexity.

WILLISTON WALKER.

Simon Goulart, 1543-1628: Étude Biographique et Bibliographique. Par Leonard Chester Jones. (Geneva, Georg et Cie.; Paris, Édouard Champion, 1917, pp. xviii, 688.) Simon Goulart belonged to the second generation of the ecclesiastical leaders of Geneva. Born in Senlis, in 1543, he found refuge in Geneva less than two years after Calvin's death. In November, 1566, he entered the Genevan pastorate which he was to adorn till his death in 1628. After Beza's death in 1605, he was in public repute and for much of the time in official position the leader of the Genevan ministry. With his duties in the pulpit he combined a very considerable political activity and a remarkable literary productivity, as a versifier, a translator and popularizer of the classics and the Christian fathers, an historian, and as a writer on practical religion. Captain Jones's careful bibliography embraces no less than seventy-five titles.

Goulart belonged, indeed, to the unpicturesque period of Reformation history. The leaders had done their creative work. It was his to conserve what had been won rather than to build afresh. It is not to be denied that the readers' interest in him is far less than in Calvin, or even in Beza. No elaborate biography of Goulart has ever before been attempted. This gap the author has abundantly supplied. As a fellow in history of Princeton University and as a candidate for the degree of *docteur ès lettres* in the University of Geneva, he has well learned the historian's duties. He has given a most workmanlike volume, containing a careful study of Goulart's life and activities, a selection of fifty-nine of his letters, gathered from widely scattered European libraries and archives, and an elaborately annotated bibliography of Goulart's publications.

The picture the author presents is valuable as illuminating religious and political life in Geneva after the Reformation had been for more than half a century an established fact, but before modern questions had arisen on the horizon. It reveals what life and thought in the city of Calvin was when the Genevan reformer was no more, but when his influence still ruled unchallenged over Genevan intellectual interests.

WILLISTON WALKER.

Autobiography of Thomas Raymond and Memoirs of the Family of Guise of Elmore, Gloucestershire. Edited by G. Davies. [Camden Third Series, vol. XXVIII.] (London, Royal Historical Society, 1917, pp. 184.) Mr. G. Davies has edited for the Camden Society two family manuscripts, preserved in the Bodleian, which have not been previously

printed. The first, described by the writer as "a rhapsodie", is an original covering the years 1622-1659. It is a loose narrative which adds nothing new to the political or constitutional history of the period. The chief interest will be for the student of social life. Raymond was a member of a diplomatic mission to the Hague in 1632. He served as a private with the English contingent in the Netherlands in 1633, and in the following year he went to Venice as secretary to Lord Fielding and remained there almost three years. The record covering these years is the most valuable part of the document, as interesting side-lights are thrown on the state of morals—especially in Venice—and on the religious life at the Hague during the period. The rest of the manuscript has no wide import and is of little importance.

The memoirs of the family of Guise of Elmore are printed from a transcript presented to the Bodleian by Professor Firth. They are a composite record compiled by various members of this well-known Gloucestershire family during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and are of much more value than Raymond's autobiography. Interesting light is thrown on undergraduate life at Oxford in the early seventeenth century, a subject on which there are scanty records (pp. 116 ff.); and on the work of the Commissioners for Sequestrations (pp. 166 ff.). There are also many personal touches which, if not of great historical importance, help to give a contemporary setting to the Popish Plot, the coming of William of Orange, the Convention Parliament, and the conquest of Ireland. There is also an illuminating account of electioneering methods at the close of the seventeenth century (pp. 138 ff.), which has a distinct value in the history of the subject. A letter from Henry Ireton describing the surrender of Namur in 1695, of which he was an eye-witness, is printed in full from the Carte MSS.

The editor's work gives these two documents a greater value than they possess intrinsically, as his notes and appendixes elaborate the history in minute detail, and the lives which he provides of the most important personages are based on first-class research. The editorial work is excellent. The index, however, is meagre and quite inadequate.

W. P. M. KENNEDY.

English Leadership. By J. N. Larned. (Springfield, Mass., C. A. Nichols Company, 1918, pp. vii, 400, \$2.75.) Before his death the late Mr. J. N. Larned, well known to all American teachers of history for his text-book on English history and his monumental *History for Ready Reference*, began a volume on what he called "English Leadings in Modern History". This was left incomplete and has now been printed in the form of a long essay of some hundred and thirty pages, with supplementary contributions from other hands—an introduction on English Political Genius by ex-President Taft, an essay on the Geographic Factor in English History by Donald E. Smith, and two essays by the editor of Mr. Larned's manuscript, Grace F. Caldwell, one on English

Contributions to Scientific Thought, the other on the English Gift to World Literature. Mr. Larned's essay, besides being carefully edited, has been supplemented and amplified with many interpolations and notes from the most recent writers who have touched on the subject of which he treats.

It is not easy to classify such a book as this; it is less easy to evaluate it, for it is in no sense a narrative history, nor is it precisely a critical study. Mr. Larned's contribution is essentially what is sometimes called a sketch or an outline of English development from the earliest times to the present. Its spirit may be perceived from its opening statement that "the English have been leaders in the political civilization of the world"; and there is perhaps nowhere so brief and comprehensive a statement of the process by which that leadership has been attained and made effective. The other essays, save that of Mr. Taft, are described by their titles, and they have brought together under their respective heads much useful and interesting knowledge—for they are frankly narrative and descriptive rather than critical. Mr. Taft's essay is especially interesting as making the connection between the body of the book and the activities of the political world about us, for he brings us to consider the obligation of the world, and in particular of the United States, to Great Britain as the champion of free institutions against the assault of autocracy.

It is an interesting book and it may well serve as an adjunct to the teaching of more formal English history, as well as an interpretative and suggestive volume for a reader somewhat conversant with the subject, but not in touch with the more recent developments of the historical spirit. The influence of Professor Robinson and Miss Semple is conspicuous in the later essays; and from the quotations out of Stubbs to that from President Wilson's speech of July 4, 1918, the material drawn upon is not merely apropos, it produces an effect of a past living in the present, which permeates the whole volume but gives especial value to Mr. Larned's essay.

W. C. ABBOTT.

Government and Politics of Switzerland. By Robert C. Brooks Joseph Wharton Professor of Political Science in Swarthmore College. [Government Handbooks, edited by David P. Barrows and Thomas H. Reed.] (Yonkers-on-Hudson, World Book Company, 1918, pp. xv, 430, \$1.50.) It might be conceived that the study of the present political organization of Switzerland was somewhat outside the field of professional historical inquiry, but it does not take long to observe on examination that the results of various nineteenth-century aspirations are epitomized in the institutions of that little country. Recent history is constantly called upon to fortify the descriptions given by the author of this volume, for, although the introductory historical chapters are brief and stride across the centuries at accelerated speed, the political developments since 1830 are necessary to explain the present.

One might argue that many of the social and political customs of Switzerland are based on far more remote foundations than these, but this book is intended primarily as a text for students of political science, with the expectation that the general reader will find it interesting. In both respects it is successful. The few pages devoted to the physical basis of the confederation are fundamental to the study of its history as well as its politics. The order of treatment begins with the federal constitution, which historically is by centuries younger than cantonal government, but its importance is at present so much greater, and its functions are so rapidly absorbing the duties of the states that, to the foreign reader, its description must obviously come first. Yet the great body of local and cantonal institutions seems to be disproportionately handled in getting less than one-third as much space.

The apparatus for study is good. Each chapter is followed by references to standard writers on Switzerland, and at the close of the work a critical bibliography points the way to still more serious inquiry. The work is brought up to date so far as it is possible to follow a rapidly advancing country which will not stop legislating while its photograph is being taken. The changes in the past ten years justify a new book, and the animated treatment of the subject will gain a place for this convenient volume.

J. M. VINCENT.

The Lost Fruits of Waterloo. By John Spencer Bassett, Ph.D., LL.D. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1918, pp. viii, 289, \$1.50.) The argument of this book may be stated briefly as follows: In 1814-1815 the peoples of Europe achieved, at great sacrifice, a substantial triumph over the imperialistic ambitions of a mighty conqueror and a brilliantly organized nation. Their victory was so complete as to induce a false sense of security, and the hard-won peace was imperfectly organized. The new Concert of Europe was dynastic, rather than popular, and it contained no effective guarantee against a dangerous recrudescence of the imperial idea. Toward the close of the century it gradually collapsed, and was superseded by a new European system based, not upon the idea of a single community of nations, but upon that of two great opposed international alignments, each an armed camp as against the other. This was loudly heralded as a mode of organizing and guaranteeing peace; but statesmen knew in their hearts that it was not such, and the events of the summer of 1914 showed that in reality it was a natural and sure antecedent of war. When, therefore, the consolidating, imperialistic impulse of Napoleon, reincarnated in William II. and the German Empire, broke forth to do its bloody work, the peoples of Europe found themselves, so far as international guarantees were concerned, exactly where they had stood in 1800; the fruits of Waterloo had been lost.

The author conceives his task to be to offer "the material facts out

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of which the reader may form his own opinions". He makes no effort, however, to disguise his conviction that the fruits of Waterloo were lost "through the inexperience of the men who set the world on its course again", that to return to a concerted and balanced international system would be but to invite fresh disaster, and that the hope of civilization lies in a federation of states "with enough cohesive force to guard against secession, repress any constituent state that defies the united will, make laws that concern the purposes for which the federation is formed, exercise the right of interpreting those laws by a system of federal courts, and maintain an executive that can make itself obeyed" (p. 262). Professor Bassett concerns himself with historical facts and with arguments, and wisely refrains from adding to the long list of specific plans and proposed constitutions which writers put forth in profusion during the war period. The statements of fact are almost unexceptionable, and the presentation of arguments, while traversing ground that of late has come to be very familiar, is clear and forceful, and has served a very useful purpose in recent days.

On the other hand, certain analogies that are drawn seem to the reviewer not altogether happy. The benevolently co-operative nature of the German cartel (p. xiv) is exaggerated; and the implication (pp. 194-200) that Germany should be dealt with in the lenient, if not chivalric, spirit that ought to have been shown—but unfortunately was not—toward our own defeated South does not carry conviction. Both the Confederacy and the German Empire fought for things we believe to have been wrong; but the fact that the former fought honorably and cleanly constitutes a tremendous difference.

FREDERIC AUSTIN OGG.

La Politique Extérieure de l'Autriche-Hongrie, 1875-1914. Tome I. *La Marche vers l'Orient, 1875-1908.* Tome II. *La Politique d'Asservissement, 1908-1914.* Par Jean Larmeroux, Docteur en Droit. (Paris, Plon-Nourrit et Cie., 1918, pp. lxiv, 490; 476.) We open this book with pleased expectation. Two stout volumes bearing the imprint of a well-known publisher lead us to hope for something measuring up to the high standard of modern French historical scholarship. The subject is timely and interesting, one about which, though there is a vast amount still to be learned, enough of importance has already appeared in various languages and scattered form to make possible a general comprehensive work of real value. We soon discover, however, to our disappointment, that we have here nothing but a laborious compilation, not based on any special knowledge or on the use of sources except French Yellow Books; also there is no evidence, in spite of a quotation or two, that the author has made use of or can make use of any language but his own. We see that he has done and done carefully a large amount of reading in the French literature available on his topic. This he has digested with fair success, and he has evolved from

it a connected story which he proceeds to tell, seldom mentioning his sources. His title too is misleading. A work on the foreign policy of Austria from 1875 to 1914, such as he announces, ought to contain much about Italy. Mr. Larmeroux has very little to say about that country, and, indeed, does not seem to know much about it. What he has given us is a history of the Eastern Question for forty years, chiefly, though not entirely, from the point of view of Austria. This would be well worth while in itself if it were based on an extensive use of German sources besides those in several other languages. Without them it can have no pretensions to serious value. Taking the story such as it is, we may say that it is told moderately and judiciously in the main, though its tone becomes more violent as we get near to recent events. If there are no original views and several bad omissions, there are at least no glaring errors. The order is frequently confusing, there is some repetition and a needless amount of reproduction of the texts of treaties, etc., well known and easily accessible elsewhere.

ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE.

Brest-Litowsk. By S. Grumbach. (Paris and Lausanne, Payot et Cie., 1918, pp. 134, 3 fr.) This little volume is a contribution to the polemics of the present European revolution, and especially to the Russian phase of that revolution, by an Alsatian socialist who has resided in Switzerland for several years and is a well-known leader of the International. It is a French edition of a lecture, translated from the stenographic notes of the original German, which was delivered at the People's House, in Berne, on January 24, 1918. The text preserves the lecture form, even to reporting the applause, remarks, and questions of the audience. Apart from filibuster speeches in the Senate, an address of nearly 40,000 words, delivered as a single effort, harks back to the pulpit exploits of the New England forefathers—to days when people had more patient ears than now; but both the style and the argument of the author are compressed and his theme is developed without unnecessary detours or excursions.

Events since the lecture was given, more than a year ago, would doubtless change both the substance and the order of thought were it prepared for delivery today; but as an historical record of socialist opinion and policy during a highly critical era it retains not only documentary value but current interest. The author knows the present dictators of Russia as personal associates and intellectual colleagues, and he traces the mind of the Bolshevik movement, as represented by the two men who stand for its brains—Lenine and Trotsky—through all its aberrations of policy and inconsistencies of theory, from radical democracy to reactionary despotism. The facts are not new, but their elucidation is clear and informing.

Incidentally, the author—whose Alsatian hatred for the still triumphant imperialism of Germany combines national bitterness with doc-

trinal animosity—throws star-shells of trenchant criticism into the German social-democratic camp that illumine for the American reader some of the obscurer passages of political thought and action in the Central Powers during the period when the German revolution was incubating among the masses unfathered and unrecognized by its natural protectors.

VICTOR S. CLARK.

Japan or Germany: the Inside Story of the Struggle in Siberia. By Frederic Coleman, F.R.G.S. (New York, George H. Doran Company, 1918, pp. xi, 232, \$1.35.) This little volume, written by a journalist in a loose, conversational style, contains much general information, more or less disconnected, and a certain amount of current public opinion of Japan and the Pri-Amur region for the year 1917. The purpose of the book seems to have been to show that unless Japan intervened in Siberia Germany would get control. The first fourth of the book deals with the political forces and ideals of modern Japan and the remaining three-fourths with the conditions in eastern Siberia.

Now that the war is over Germany's menace in Asia is no longer a live question, but Japan's intervention is a fact of immediate importance. Some of us would like to know what attitude the Japanese government has toward Siberia, but the book does not enlighten us on this point. To the question which the author raises, "Should Japan go to Siberia?" he replies,

By all means Yes, emphatically Yes, if she goes in the right spirit, and if when she goes a campaign of education and explanation goes with her. If Japan is merely to go to guard a pile of stores from the Huns, or even to prevent Bolsheviki disruption along the path of the Trans-Siberian, and the echo of the tramp of her legions bears no other significance than these, then No, a thousand times No.

Did Japan go "in the right spirit"? It is exceedingly difficult to answer this question from the book. On one page it tells us that Japan is materialistic, imperialistic, self-seeking, and on another page that Japan will not seize territory in Siberia. The author is lavish with strong statements, but he qualifies them in such a way that they lose their force and the reader is left in mid-air. When, however, Mr. Coleman discusses the Russian bourgeois he is quite sure of himself, and with one sweep of his brush he paints the countless brands of Russian bourgeois so black that he would rather be a Bolshevik than a bourgeois. It is a pity that the author with his ability to collect current opinion had not a better background for his Asiatic studies, for he could have made a really valuable book.

F. A. GOLDER.

Source Problems in American History. By Andrew C. McLaughlin, William E. Dodd, Marcus W. Jernegan, and Arthur P. Scott, of the Department of History of the University of Chicago. (New York and

London, Harper and Brothers, 1918, pp. xii, 512, \$1.30.) This book is one among several evidences that we are making progress in teaching history. For it shows that some college teachers are frankly and fearlessly accepting the "problem" method.

The problems, for the study of which source-material is provided in this volume, are, 1, the Battle of Lexington; 2, the Preliminaries of the Revolution; 3, the Power of the Court to Declare a Law Unconstitutional; 4, Religious Toleration and Freedom in Virginia; 5, Relation of Eastern States to the Development of the West; 6, the Slavery Problem; 7, Fort Sumter and the Outbreak of the Civil War. In the view of the editors, "Five of the seven problems . . . are of very profound significance in American history. . . . Two of the problems are chosen partly because of their continuing interest, partly because they give exceptional opportunity to weigh evidence and ponder probability." The reference is to numbers 1 and 7. The first of these is practically designed to enable students to evaluate the evidence on the question "who fired the first shot at Lexington"; the last to understand what might be termed the diplomacy antecedent to the Civil War.

Preliminary to the presentation of the documentary matter in each case, the editors provide an introductory statement under the caption, the Historical Setting of the Problem. There is also, in each case, an Introduction to the Sources, and a group of Questions and Suggestions for Study.

The several introductions constitute original contributions of considerable value, though they are not uniform in scope or in thoroughness. Mr. Jernegan's contributions are both longer and more complete than the others.

The illustrative documents seem to have been selected with care and the questions and suggestions have considerable pedagogical value.

The book arouses in the mind of a teacher the feeling of grateful appreciation because it facilitates the reorientation of historical teaching in colleges, so widely recognized as necessary if social studies are to fulfill their normal function.

The plan of manufacture of the series makes the book a little book and a cheap book—two decided advantages. One does not look for minor errors; if such exist the editors will find and correct them before reprinting the book. But from the reviewer's point of view, it would be hard to write an essay on religious toleration and freedom in colonial Virginia without at least a mention of colonial Rhode Island, and it would seem risky to write on the slavery problem without recognizing the existence of the Garrisonian movement, whatever the final verdict on that movement.

The editors admit that the first problem, who fired the first shot at Lexington, is not of great historical significance. One wonders why, under the circumstances, some other more important problem should not hereafter take its place.

The Pilgrims and their History. By Roland G. Usher, Ph.D., Professor of History in Washington University. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1918, pp. xiii, 310, \$2.00.) In this readable volume Professor Usher has done an excellent piece of work, that is timely in view of the approaching three-hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims. The story of the inception and the whole independent existence of Plymouth Colony is compactly and completely told. Its less familiar emphases are well defined by Professor Usher himself.

I have felt it possible to show that the Pilgrims were not subject to active persecution in England from Church or State; that Robinson's Congregation at Leyden was considerably smaller than most students have estimated; and that the really significant achievement was not the emigration itself, but the economic success of the years 1621 to 1627. Indeed, the Plymouth wills make it now possible to claim that the colony was an economic success in the literal sense of the word and that poverty and hardship did not continue at Plymouth as long as has not infrequently been implied (p. vii).

The first statement is perhaps too sweeping. Professor Usher shows that five members of the Scrooby congregation were summoned before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners of the province of York, and one imprisoned. He makes it evident, however, that they were more leniently dealt with than was the common practice of the High Commission, and he makes the probable suggestion that the greater part of the persecution endured by the Pilgrims in England was from unsympathetic neighbors. Professor Usher's other contentions seem thoroughly made out.

Two minor errors may be noted. Speaking of the religious situation at the University of Cambridge when William Brewster matriculated in December, 1580, the author speaks of "Peter Baro, eminent as a Calvinist" (p. 8). That father of what was later to be known as Arminianism in England had, indeed, been admitted to the ministry by John Calvin himself; but his departures from Calvinism were so well known as to be subject to official complaint by 1581. Brewster can have got little Calvinism from Baro.

Speaking of the citation of the members of the Scrooby congregation before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners of the province of York, Professor Usher says, "nor were any other persons than these named accused of Separatism or Baroism" (p. 20). One suspects that the author has followed the record, but that the record, if such, has, in the exercise of liberty of spelling, led to an error which needs correction. An accusation of "Baroism", in 1607, would be essentially one of Arminianism. What is intended is Barrowism, reminiscent of Henry Barrowe, the Separatist martyr of 1593.

WILLISTON WALKER.

A Selection from the Miscellaneous Historical Papers of Fifty Years. By Franklin Bowditch Dexter. (New Haven, privately printed,

1918, pp. 397.) Professor Dexter, who for fifty years has been a fruitful student of the antiquities of New England, Connecticut, New Haven, and Yale College, had no need to feel the modest hesitation expressed in his preface respecting the bringing together in one volume of these twenty-four valuable and interesting contributions to American history. Some have a wider scope, and some a narrower or more local, but Professor Dexter shows always a mind cultivated in general history and able to see and treat his themes in their relation to larger movements. This redeems his papers from mere antiquarianism, and gives them value to the historian. Especially well-known is his classical paper of 1887 on Estimates of Population in the American Colonies. The papers on the Influence of the English Universities in the Development of New England, on Some Social Distinctions at Harvard and Yale before the Revolution, and on Early Private Libraries in New England, are likewise valuable contributions, the fruit of ripe scholarship and intelligent appreciation of social conditions. The papers of more restricted range, on matters in the history of New Haven and of Yale College, or on the lives of various of their worthies, are alike marked by exceptional learning and a genial style. Dr. Dexter's minute knowledge of local details and of early New England history enables him, for instance, to make a most entertaining and informing paper on New Haven Two Hundred Years Ago out of the entries in an old day-book, 1707-1716, kept by the captain of a sloop which constantly plied between New Haven and Boston.

A History of the Penal, Reformatory and Correctional Institutions of the State of New Jersey, Analytical and Documentary. By Harry Elmer Barnes, Ph.D., Lecturer in History in Columbia University. (Trenton, MacCrellish and Quigley Company, 1918, pp. 655.) Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes has done much more than simply to write a chronicle. He has discovered the evolution of criminal codes and penal institutions from the settlement of the colony of New Jersey in the latter part of the seventeenth century.

The penal system of East Jersey provided only a county jail system, under control of the sheriff, for detention rather than punishment or reformation; but the Quakers of West Jersey undertook to establish a prison system, having as its basis the work-house, with a view both to punishment and reformation. The work-house system first found concrete development in the Middlesex County work-house in 1768.

Mr. Barnes has exhibited the early struggle between the Puritan idea of jail detention and vindictive punishment, under which many offenses, including a fourth conviction for larceny, were made punishable by death, and the Quaker system of work-house imprisonment, for punishment, reformation, and instruction in industry. No central penal institutions were provided for during the colonial period. Corporal punishment, including death, whipping, branding, and the stocks were

almost exclusively employed as a punishment for criminals. There was no clear differentiation between the treatment of accused and convicted prisoners, or between the treatment of criminals, feeble-minded, and insane.

In 1796 the first criminal code adopted provided the death penalty for treason, murder, and petit treason, and the second offense of manslaughter, sodomy, rape, arson, burglary, robbery, and forgery, with long terms of imprisonment for arson, blasphemy, bribery, burglary, conspiracy, and perjury.

The first state prison, opened in 1799, was called a "Penitentiary House", but it had no reformatory features, and, after thirty years' experience, was pronounced a failure in an intelligent report in 1830. From that day to 1917, the state prison remained among the unprogressive prisons of the United States, in both its industries and its discipline.

The organization of the State Reform School for Boys in 1865, and the State Industrial School for Girls in 1871, were distinct marks of progress, though neither one of those institutions has yet attained a place in the first rank of juvenile reformatories.

The State Reformatory for Men at Rahway, opened in 1901, and the State Reformatory for Women opened at Clinton in 1913, represent modern ideas in their spirit and organization, though the Rahway institution has never been able to escape entirely from the original notion that it was an "intermediate prison".

The *Report of the Prison Inquiry Commission*, of which this *History* forms a part, is a vital document which has resulted in a complete revolution of the New Jersey state prison under which Mr. Burdette Lewis is organizing a new order of prison discipline and prison industry.

The Romance of Old Philadelphia. By John T. Faris. (Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1918, pp. 336, \$4.50.) The author has collected a series of stories, quotations, and illustrations of the life of Philadelphia to the end of the eighteenth century. They relate to the perils of the immigrants on the Atlantic and the discomforts of settling, the initial stages of government and business, the social, charitable, and educational interests of colonial days, church and marriage customs, the difficulties of correspondence and transportation, and various events of Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary days, ending with the last decade of the century, when the city was the seat of government of the new United States.

The selections are well made and interesting. It is hard to see the merit of the entire omission of the great store-house of such material, Watson's *Annals*, of which the author speaks in the preface. Most of the items will be new to the general reader and historians will find accounts with which they have been unfamiliar.

One wonders however whether this manner of treatment lends itself

to an accurate appreciation of colonial conditions. The events are often so disconnected with each other and with their historic setting, that their relation to the general situation is often lost. For instance, as one of many illustrations, if a few words had been added to explain the causes of the election riot of 1742 (p. 92) interest would have been added to the fact that there *was* a riot. Again (p. 153) if it had been mentioned that the master who inflicted such a severe punishment upon Israel Pemberton was the saintly Francis Daniel Pastorius, the "Pennsylvania Pilgrim" of Whittier, the narrative would have had added point.

Errors seem to be few. The letter said to have been written to *William Penn* in 1742 is evidently a mistake. It may be questioned also whether "the struggle with pioneer conditions in the midst of savages" was very severe.

The author rightly emphasizes these colonial days of Pennsylvania. It may have been a "holy experiment", but it was made with a heterogeneous population which soon adopted customs, modes of government, and ideals of its own, which make old Philadelphia unique among colonial cities. It is quite worth while therefore to have presented to us in such an attractive form so much of interest and historic value. In the extensive research, in the style of composition, and in the judgment displayed in the selections there is great merit.

I. S.

La France et la Guerre de l'Indépendance Américaine (1776-1783). Par le Capitaine Joachim Merlant, Professeur-Adjoint à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Montpellier. [Bibliothèque France-Amérique.] (Paris, Félix Alcan, 1918, pp. ii, 194, 3.50 fr.) Toward the end of 1909 the Comité France-Amérique was formed in Paris. The purposes of this organization are stated in its publications thus:

To labor for the promotion of closer relations, economic, intellectual, artistic, and so forth, between the nations of the New World and the French nation; to establish a monthly review wherein to bring together the best available studies of the economic and intellectual life of the American peoples; to attract to France students and travellers from the two Americas and prepare them a cordial welcome; to encourage every enterprise calculated to make America better known to France and vice versa.

In carrying out this laudable programme, the Comité have undertaken the publication of several volumes on very diverse themes, one being a French translation of Mr. Croly's *Promise of American Life*, and another the volume before us.

Let it be said at once that notwithstanding this propagandist intention Captain Merlant has given us an excellent and valuable little volume, which, so far from suffering from this primary purpose, has probably gained in eloquence and grace of presentation. In general, the

work is an excellently ordered narrative of French naval and military participation in the War of Independence. The emphasis is on the personal side, and all the leading French figures in this enterprise, from La Fayette to Rochambeau, from D'Estaing to De Grasse, are sketched into the canvas with a most enviable skill in the selection of pertinent anecdote and in the difficult art of biographical portraiture. Nor do leading Americans of the time escape Captain Merlant's witty and illuminating pen.

The volume has, unfortunately, its Achilles heel—the paragraphs dealing with the diplomatic phases of the French participation. What is written on this topic, though Doniol's great work is cited as sponsor for it, is superficial, misleading, and at points positively erroneous.

Nevertheless, it is to be hoped that the volume will speedily find its way into the hands of American readers in an adequate English version. The translation should have an index, which the present volume lacks.

EDWARD S. CORWIN.

The Life and Diary of John Floyd, Governor of Virginia, an Apostle of Secession, and the Father of the Oregon Country. By Charles H. Ambler, Ph.D. (Richmond, the Author, 1918, pp. 248, \$2.00.) Professor Ambler has made a distinct contribution to the knowledge of the Jacksonian era in presenting to the general public the *Life and Diary of John Floyd*. For twelve successive years, Floyd represented Virginia in Congress; and later he served as governor of his native state. Both in Congress and in the executive mansion, he demonstrated qualities of statesmanship and leadership, and in his celebrated report of 1821 on the Columbia Valley, arousing the latent interest of the nation, Floyd displayed prophetic vision.

In this volume Professor Ambler has given a sketch of Floyd's life and a transcription of the diary kept by Floyd from March, 1831, to February, 1834. Floyd, as many others, hailed Jackson as the leader of the democratic forces of the nation. But on Jackson's accession, Floyd, a stalwart supporter of states' rights, came into direct conflict with the President, and throughout his diary he freely discloses his antagonism to the Jacksonian administration. Determined to stand by his ideals, Floyd turned to Calhoun as the leader of the states' rights principles, and much new light is thrown on the actions of Clay, Calhoun, Van Buren, Jackson, Floyd, and Ritchie in their political manoeuvres for the campaign of 1832. Floyd believed that the country could only be saved by the overthrow of Jackson and so his diary reeks with denunciation of the Jacksonian administration. The Eaton affair, the clash between Jackson and Calhoun, the scandals of Washington society are portrayed in vivid and lurid language. The account, therefore, must be used with extreme caution.

The volume is singularly free of typographical errors, but the *Raccoon* did not take Astoria in 1812 but on December 12 (or 13), 1813;

and Nicholas Biddle published the *History of the Expedition of Lewis and Clark* in 1814 and not in 1811.

REGINALD C. McGRANE.

An English Settler in Pioneer Wisconsin: the Letters of Edwin Bottomley, 1842-1850. Edited with Introduction by Milo M. Quaife, Superintendent of the Society. [Publications of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Collections, vol. XXV.] (Madison, the Society, 1918, pp. 250, \$1.50.) Although neither short nor simple the letters of Edwin Bottomley must be classed among the annals of the poor. In fact their publication is justified by the editor upon exactly this ground. History, he maintains, being chiefly "made by common men", can only be truly estimated by those acquainted with the lives of such. In this particular instance the intrinsic value of the record lies in the fact that it is remarkably detailed and complete. The writer was a comparatively well-to-do English factory-worker regularly employed in a mill where his father held the responsible position of manager. At the age of thirty-three, finding himself unable to assure a competence to his increasing family, he determined to risk their fortunes in what is still known as the English Settlement in Wisconsin. At this point the record begins, continuing in the form of letters written to his father usually at monthly intervals until his death in 1850. Unrelieved by a single ray of humor, they recount faithfully and minutely, sometimes even tediously, the incidents of the journey from Liverpool to Milwaukee and the subsequent experiences of the family in their new environment.

The book is of interest to the historian primarily because it presents a vivid and accurate picture of pioneer life in the Northwest during a period of rapid settlement and development. It gives authentic and specific information upon economic and social conditions which were the immigrant's chief concern. Equally significant to the historian is the information for which one seeks in vain. Notwithstanding the fact that Bottomley became a naturalized citizen immediately upon his arrival, the letters contain but one brief reference to political agitation in Wisconsin, while for all the English Settlement knew there had been no Mexican War nor was there a slavery controversy in the United States. Judging from these letters alone one might infer that education and religion were of greater import than politics, and that controversies between Catholics and Protestants foreshadowed a sharper conflict than the expansion of slavery into the West.

The editing has been done with scrupulous care. The capitalization and spelling of the original have been retained throughout, and textual emendations are surprisingly few. In lieu of punctuation which is entirely lacking in the original the device of spacing has been used to indicate the sentence structure.

MARTHA L. EDWARDS.

A Century of Negro Migration. By Carter G. Woodson, Ph.D. (Washington, Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1918, pp. vii, 221, \$1.00.) That the recent migration of negroes to the northern states was not a new and strange phenomenon, but only an acceleration of a movement that has been under way for many decades, is made especially clear in Dr. Woodson's book. After describing such familiar things as the northward migration of fugitive and emancipated slaves and the various colonization schemes of the ante-bellum period, the author indicates a new phase of negro migration that grew out of the confused movements of the freedmen in the wake of the Union armies in 1864-1865. This attained such importance as to cause apprehension in some northern communities that they might be overrun with ex-slaves. Dr. Woodson also shows that in this period there was a counter-migration to the South of educated northern negroes, many of whom attained political prominence in the Reconstruction period. In discussing the negro exodus to the West in 1879 the author attributes this movement to two causes, the fundamental cause being economic and the immediate cause political. In this he is undoubtedly correct, but he seems not to attach sufficient importance to the work of such negro leaders as Benjamin (whom he incorrectly calls Moses) Singleton and Henry Adams. It was through the direct personal appeals of these men that a very large proportion of the negroes were induced to migrate to Kansas.

In his discussion of the recent northward exodus of negroes Dr. Woodson appears to be unduly pessimistic. He believes that the movement will prove injurious to the South, which "is now losing the only labor it can ever use under present conditions" (p. 178), and that it will not aid the negroes, whose maltreatment "will be nationalized by the exodus" (p. 180). He even maintains that the emigrant negroes "are not wanted by the whites and are treated with contempt by the native blacks of northern cities" (p. 186).

The work is not free from minor errors. For example, it was not the floods of the Mississippi River (pp. 169-170) but the freshets in Alabama and the Carolinas in 1916 that prompted the migration in that year not only of negroes but of whites as well. There have been no serious overflows of the Mississippi River since 1912, and the alluvial lands along this stream were perhaps less affected by the recent migration than any other section of the Lower South. Though the work sometimes reflects the strong prejudices of its author, as for example on pages 161, 162, and 166, it is nevertheless a valuable addition to the material dealing with the great American race problem. Its usefulness is increased by maps and diagrams based on the census.

WILLIAM O. SCROGGS.

History of the Civil War, 1861-1865. By James Ford Rhodes, LL.D., D.Litt. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1917, pp. xxi, 454, \$2.50.)

Now that hostilities abroad have ceased or abated, the attention of Americans is naturally directed to the war in which their fathers or grandfathers took part. This book, as Dr. Rhodes explains, is not an abridgment of his three volumes on the Civil War, but a fresh study of the subject in which he has used his book as one of many authorities, referring especially to the *Official Records of the Navies*, and to histories, biographies, etc., published since 1904. It embraces in a general narrative, an outline and discussion of military movements and engagements, and of the political events connected with them. Commencing with the election of Lincoln in 1860, the author gives a chapter on the bombardment of Fort Sumter, the rising of the North, its unpreparedness, and the first battle of Bull Run; then a chapter on the trouble with England over Mason and Slidell; three on political and military affairs up to the summer of 1863, one on Gettysburg and Vicksburg, one on the *Alabama* affair with England, etc., three mainly on military operations, one on life and conditions at the North, one at the South, and two on political and military affairs up to Lee's surrender, Lincoln's assassination, and the end of the war.

The political portions are treated in that bright and interesting style which made Dr. Rhodes's original work so attractive. It has been so carefully condensed that the style is even more lively; the language is clear, and has gained much in vigor and strength by the revision. His criticisms of civil affairs are based largely upon his own studies and observations; those of military affairs reflect the opinions of professional military men, many of whom took leading parts in the Civil War. He has shown great judgment in collecting and giving due weight to each. The narrative gives a clear perspective of the general course of military operations, but the accounts of battles are so brief that many of their salient features are lost. Sixteen very clear maps in color, mostly taken from those of the *Official Records*, are well drawn and show clearly the points named in the narrative. There is a good index. The sources are shown by the copious foot-notes and a well-selected bibliography.

This very attractive volume is just what is now required to give to the general reader a clear outline of the Civil War, and to point out to those who are now especially interested in the art of war precisely where detailed accounts and comments can be found about any part of that great struggle. It is well worthy of the welcome it has already received.

W. R. LIVERMORE.

A World Court in the Light of the United States Supreme Court.
By Thomas Willing Balch. (Philadelphia, Allen, Lane, and Scott, pp. 165, \$2.00.) One naturally expects to find this book similar in purpose to the more recent volume of Dr. James Brown Scott on *Judicial Settlement of Controversies between States of the American Union*; but

this expectation is disappointed by the author's conclusion that such a permanent international tribunal, able to judge successfully in all cases between nations, cannot be hastily erected by one conference of nations or even by one generation of humanity—but rather must result from a series of unsuccessful attempts.

The author explains that shortly before the World War he began this study to secure argument in favor of the early creation of a supreme court of nations as the easiest means of insuring international peace, but that he was gradually forced through his investigations to recognize limitations to the possibilities of such a tribunal.

The lack of some external force to drive selfish, earthly peoples to remain united he regards as the great difficulty in enforcing world peace. In the existence of the two sets of primary questions, *political* as well as *legal*, he indicates the crucial problem in establishing a world court. He doubts whether a world supreme court would have been more successful than a Hague tribunal *ad hoc* in composing the quarrel which precipitated the war of 1914, and concludes that the only way to compel obedience to decisions of a world court in all cases is to develop an international executive with enough power to enforce the decisions.

Mr. Balch urges that friends of peace "instead of trying to end war for all time by one stroke of magic by merely urging the erection of a Supreme Court of the World and a League of Nations to support it", should aim in a practical way to curtail by slow degrees the occurrences producing war, seek to eliminate probable sources of future wars, and try to transfer gradually as many as possible of political questions into the realm of legal questions.

J. M. CALLAHAN.

Why We Went to War. By Christian Gauss, Professor of Modern Languages in Princeton University. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1918, pp. xi, 386, \$1.50.) "As an American of South German blood," writes Professor Gauss, "I confess readily to an inherited dislike and distrust of the Prussian. . . . For this reason, in dealing with the immediate causes of the war, in my desire to be fair I have treated the evidence the more scrupulously." His volume substantiates both the confession and the claim. As his title implies, it is our entrance into the war which constitutes the chief theme of the work. Thus, seven of the ten chapters deal with the relations of the United States to the war, from the period of Strict Neutrality (ch. IV.) to the Final Challenge (ch. X.). He demonstrates at length that there is "absolutely no basis of fact for the accusation that in our interpretation of our rights as neutrals we favored England as against Germany; an excellent case could be made out to prove the contrary". The Cause of the World War is compressed into a single chapter of twenty pages (ch. II.). The result is that the historical background of the war is of a somewhat sketchy character. The description of Fundamental Antagonisms (ch.

I.), is, however, unusually good. It is in the conception of *das Deutschtum* that Professor Gauss finds

the secret of this war, of its deep-rooted origin, its progress, and its continuance . . . as the Mohammedan fought and died for Islam, the German is fighting for *das Deutschtum*. It explains Nietzsche and *Kultur*; it explains Pan-Germanism; it explains the push into the Balkans and the Bagdad Bahn. . . . *Das Deutschtum* is above our ideas of right and wrong. It is beyond good and evil. . . . It is the mystic conception of the mission, the power, and the privileges of the German people, which is to be realized by the German state.

Except for the "mass of the population which does not think", and another group, a numerically large but "fairly impotent party of protest", Professor Gauss holds these ideas to have been the property of the German people generally as well as of their rulers. Thus, as he says in his preface: "I have done what Burke said he did not know how to do. I have drawn up an indictment against a whole people for their complicity in the crimes of the rulers whom they have accepted." That is why, writing before August, 1918, he thought we should not hope for any revolt against the Kaiser.

In addition to older sources of information, Professor Gauss makes good use of the newer ones also, the Lichnowsky and Mühlen revelations, along with the pamphlets of the Committee on Public Information. The materials are handled with skill and sobriety of judgment, and the result is for the American general reader or younger student one of the best volumes on the war.

SAMUEL B. HARDING.

CORRECTION

It has always been the practice of this journal to leave to reviewers entire freedom in the expression of their opinions respecting books which have been entrusted to them. To interfere with such freedom is to substitute the opinion of a managing editor for that of a reviewer chosen for a special competence, in a particular field, which the managing editor cannot pretend to possess, and is inappropriate to the conduct of a journal which has no doctrinal line of "editorial policy" to maintain—no policy but to give catholic admittance to all varieties of historical opinion. It is not, however, the intention of the *Review* to include in its book-notices judgments upon the ability or standing of the writers of books reviewed, except in so far as these may be inferred from the criticisms of the books themselves, the proper subject-matter of such contributions.

In a review of Mr. Edward Porritt's *Evolution of the Dominion of Canada*, on p. 287 of our last issue, the signalizing of several passages declared to be erroneous is preceded by the statement that "Mr. Porritt's familiarity with Canadian history is hardly such as to justify him in writing about it". The remark was intended by the reviewer to be prefatory to the recital of errors, and to be taken in close connection therewith, quite as if the sentence had ended with the additional words, "as witness the following passages, to wit". The managing editor so understood the statement. It has however been pointed out to us that some readers may, by considering it apart from all context, have taken it as a general declaration, not founded on the book. Such readers might justly regard it as violating the rule of practice described above. In that case we should wish to offer our sincere apologies for the ambiguity (for which the reviewer shares our regret) and for our inadvertence in publishing a statement open to misconstruction if not taken in what we conceive to be its natural sense. Mr. Porritt's reading in Canadian history is known to us to be extensive.

Again, the statement that "Everywhere he [Mr. Porritt] relies on secondary authorities, not always of a trustworthy nature", is to be taken as expressing the reviewer's judgment that such reliance is to be found in all parts of the book (as when one says, for instance, "Everywhere in the city one finds wooden houses"), and we should wish to apologize if any reader has thought the sentence to imply that no use had been made of primary authorities, for in fact a great many, perhaps most, of Mr. Porritt's citations are to sources of that class.

J. F. JAMESON,
Managing Editor.

HISTORICAL NEWS

PERSONAL

In what is said in these pages concerning historians who have died during the preceding quarter, it is customary and natural to dwell rather upon their achievements and qualities as historians than upon any relation they may have had to the public life of the time. In the case of Theodore Roosevelt, however, who died on January 6, having been President of the United States from 1901 to 1909, and president of the American Historical Association in 1912, to confine attention to his historical writings appears hardly appropriate, not only because it might seem to belittle a great public career, but also because the traits which gave eminence to his historical writings were largely the same as those which marked his character as a public man. The *History of the Naval War of 1812* (1882) which he wrote in his youth had its part in forming the Assistant Secretary of the Navy. His *Gouverneur Morris* and his *Benton* were the work of a mind appreciative and sympathetic toward both the cultivated, Europeanized politician of the old school and the aggressive ultra-American of the new West. The admirable address on History as Literature which he read as president of the American Historical Association (*American Historical Review*, XVIII. 473-489), while setting forth his general views as to the writing of history, exhibits also the astonishing range and versatility of mind that made him so supremely interesting a figure in the great world. The *Winning of the West* (1889-1896), his chief historical work, was marked by the same qualities of vigor and breadth and sympathy with the average active American, which characterized his public life. In that remarkable work, of which any professional historian might be proud but which no one could have achieved who had not the highest traits of the amateur spirit, he views the settlement of the West, not as primarily an economic process, but rather as a manifestation of that romantic energy which so filled his own mind and character. From that romantic energy sprang the graphic vigor he applied to the many picturesque aspects and episodes of his theme. Its legal aspects and the development of institutions were, like economics, secondary in his thought. Its moral aspects, on the other hand, interested him in the highest degree. The westward advance presented itself to his mind chiefly as a product of robust American character. He depicted the nation's conquest of the wilderness with the same manly and patriotic, almost chauvinistic gusto that he brought later to the conduct of its affairs, and that made his voice, despite some false notes, a trumpet-call to his generation.

Alexander Sergeievitch Lappo-Danilevskii, the eminent Russian historian, a principal member of the Petrograd Academy of Sciences, died of starvation in that city in February. His first important work (1890) was a history of direct taxation in Russia in the seventeenth century. In the next dozen years, he produced valuable books on the economics of Novgorod, on the domestic policy of Catharine II., and on the history of serfdom, editing the earlier registers of documents relating to the serfs. In more recent years he had devoted himself to various historical work for the Academy, chiefly work of editing. Those Americans who had the privilege of his friendship, or met him at the International Historical Congress of London in 1913, will remember his erudition and competence, his grave and gentle demeanor, his simplicity and remarkable kindness, and will sincerely mourn his terrible fate. Soon after the congress named, he was made chairman of the committee of organization for the next congress, intended to be held at Petrograd in 1918; merely to mention such arrangements now is to bring up overwhelming remembrances of tragic change!

Peter Hume Brown, professor of ancient (Scottish) history and palaeography in the University of Edinburgh and historiographer royal for Scotland, died on November 30, a few days before the completion of his sixty-eighth year. His most notable works are his life of George Buchanan published in 1890, his *History of Scotland* (three volumes, 1898, 1902, 1909), and his Ford Lectures on the *Legislative Union of England and Scotland* (1914). Since 1898 he had been the editor of the *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, and had brought out sixteen volumes of that important collection, covering the years 1625-1684. In addition to these very distinguished historical services, he had published a portion of a life of Goethe, and was a man of great cultivation in literature as well as in history.

A. Howard Clark, curator of the division of history in the United States National Museum and editor of publications in the Smithsonian Institution, died on December 31, aged sixty-eight. From 1889 to 1900 he was assistant secretary of the American Historical Association, from 1900 to 1908 secretary, efficiently performing in both offices a great amount of useful service to the society, and acquiring by his amiable character universal good-will. From 1889 till the time of his death he was also the society's curator, and for many years he had been secretary-general and registrar-general of the Sons of the American Revolution.

Rear-Admiral French E. Chadwick, U. S. N., chief of staff to Admiral Sampson during the Spanish-American War and later president of the Naval War College, died on January 27, nearly seventy-five years of age. Besides a volume in Professor Hart's *American Nation* series, on the period just preceding the Civil War, he had published, in 1909 and 1911, two volumes on the *Relations of the United States and Spain, 1776-1898*.

Professor Henry L. Cannon of Stanford University died on January 5. A capable teacher and a sound scholar, he had achieved several useful pieces of work in his chosen field, the constitutional history of England in the Middle Ages; a notable piece of such work, the *Pipe Roll of 26 Henry III.*, edited by him, was just upon the point of publication at the time of his death.

Professors Frank M. Anderson and Wallace Notestein have joined in Paris the other historical scholars connected with Colonel House's Commission of Inquiry, who, as mentioned in our last number, have been engaged to assist the American commissioners to the Peace Conference. Professor Charles H. Haskins of that group has been made a member of the commission to estimate the damages received by Belgium during the war, Professor Robert K. Lord a member of the commission to investigate the actual situation in Poland.

Professor Archibald C. Coolidge of Harvard University has during recent months been serving the Department of State in Vienna and elsewhere in Europe.

Professor M. L. Bonham, jr., of the Louisiana State University is to lecture next summer at the Peabody Summer School at Nashville.

Professor Edward M. Hulme of the University of Idaho will give two courses during the summer quarter at the University of Chicago, one in the history of the Renaissance and the other in that of the Reformation.

GENERAL

As a site for the National Archive Building in Washington, the Secretary of the Treasury has contracted for the purchase of the pieces of land constituting the square between B, C, Twelfth, and Thirteenth streets. Appropriations for the purchase and for a beginning of construction were prevented by the expiration of the term of the Sixty-fifth Congress, but are expected to be made in the next session.

On February 14, at Washington, a company of some twenty or thirty persons organized the Agricultural History Society. Dr. Rodney H. True of the Department of Agriculture was elected president, Professor William Trimble, of the North Dakota Agricultural College, vice-president, and Lyman Carrier, secretary and treasurer. The society has a wide field for work of the utmost importance to American history, enters upon its labors with the prospect of considerable numbers and much enthusiasm, and is eminently deserving of general support. Affiliation with the American Historical Association is under consideration by both societies.

Mention was made in our last number (p. 312) of the provision made by the University of Oxford for the doctorate of philosophy under regulations suited to the needs of graduates of American universities. A

similar provision has been made in most of the other British universities, and the provision of courses in British colonial history, in international law, in American history and allied subjects represents a notable addition to what Americans (preferably after a year of graduate study at home) will find to attract and benefit them in the courses in history already offered in Great Britain. The bulletins prepared by President George MacLean for the United States bureau of education, *Studies in Higher Education in England and Scotland* (1917, no. 16) and *Studies in Higher Education in Ireland and Wales* (1917, no. 15), afford a substantial guide to the conditions of study and the resources of these institutions. The London branch of the American University Union, 16 Pall Mall East, and the London headquarters of the American Historical Association (see p. 308 above) are constantly in a position to bring such information up to date and to answer inquiries as to special courses of study or research in Oxford and Cambridge, in the University of London (King's College, University College, London School of Economics), and in the progressive universities of the provinces.

The American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, which has been closed on account of the war since the end of 1914, will reopen this year. The new director of the school is Professor William H. Worrell, of the Kennedy School of Missions, Hartford, Conn. With him will be associated Professor Albert T. Clay, of Yale University. The renovated condition of Palestine promises a new era for the school, which certainly offers great opportunities for those who wish to know the country at first hand. The school is confident of American support. Information can be obtained from Professor J. A. Montgomery, chairman, University of Pennsylvania, or Professor George A. Barton, secretary, Bryn Mawr College.

It is proposed to celebrate, in 1921, the one-hundredth anniversary of the death of Napoleon, by an historical congress, in some such historic place as the Trianon or Fontainebleau or Compiègne. The proceedings are expected to embrace not only the history of Napoleon but that of his influence throughout the nineteenth century. The co-operation of American and other foreign historical scholars is invited. M. Driault, 3 Avenue Mirabeau, Versailles, editor of the *Revue des Études Napoléoniennes*, will be glad to correspond with those interested.

The principal articles in the January number of the *Historical Outlook* are: Relations during the Last Hundred Years between the United States and Canada, by Professor George M. Wrong; the Economic History of American Agriculture as a Field for Study, by Professor L. B. Schmidt; the Armenian Problem, by Professor J. E. Wrench; and British Colonial Policy, by Dr. A. P. Scott. The February number includes the Role of Niagara Falls in History, by Professor C. O. Sauer; Committees of Public Information, 1863-1866, by Dr. E. E. Ware; the Government of England, by Professor Everett Kimball; and the

European Neutrals and the Peace Conference, by Professor Larson. In the March number Professor Larson, using the title *When the War Machine Broke Down*, gives some interesting glimpses of the situation in Germany during the last weeks of the war. Other articles of especial interest are: *The British Empire and What it Stands For*, by Professor G. F. Zook; *India To-day*, by Professor C. C. Crawford; and *Classical History and its Trend in America*, by Professor F. F. Abbott.

The October number of the *Journal of Negro History* contains as its opening number an article by the editor, Dr. C. G. Woodson, the *Beginnings of the Miscegenation of the Whites and Blacks*. There are also short articles by Zita Dyson on Gerrit Smith's Efforts in Behalf of the Negroes in New York, and by Fred Landon on the Buxton Settlement in Canada, and the conclusion of D. O. W. Holmes's history of Howard University. The section of documents deals with opinions of the negro expressed in the Convention of 1787, taken in large measure from Farrand's *Records of the Federal Convention*. To the January number Professor R. G. Usher contributes a brief article on Primitive Law and the Negro, C. H. Wesley one on Lincoln's Plan for Colonizing the Emancipated Negroes, W. H. Morse a biographical study of Lemuel Haynes. There is also a brief sketch of the Anti-Slavery Society of Canada, by Mr. Landon. The section of documents deals with two subjects, Benjamin Franklin and Freedom, and the northern migration of negroes in 1879. The material relating to the first of these subjects is drawn from the *Works of Franklin*; on the latter subject a variety of matter from contemporary newspapers, committee reports, and the *Congressional Record*, is presented, all of special interest in view of recent movements of the negroes.

International Conventions and Third States, by Ronald F. Roxburgh (Longmans), promises a solid contribution to knowledge of certain timely topics.

National Self-Government, its Growth and Principles: the Culmination of Modern History (New York, Holt, 1918, pp. xi, 312), by Professor Ramsay Muir of the University of Manchester, is a survey of the development of parliamentary institutions in the countries of western Europe and in the United States and of the general nature of the problems of representative government. Though the author makes no pretensions to complete research or to comprehensive treatment he has placed before the general public a volume on this important subject which will prove readable and enlightening and which may be commended as generally accurate in fact and sound in judgment. With similar commendation may be mentioned A. E. Zimmern's *Nationality and Government, with other War-Time Essays* (New York, McBride, 1918, pp. xxiv, 364). *Le Principe des Nationalités* (Paris, Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1918, pp. 496) by René Johannet is perhaps the

most systematic and comprehensive discussion of nationality which has yet appeared.

The World Peace Foundation has published a pamphlet entitled *Peace and Reconstruction: a Preliminary Bibliography* (pp. x, 34), prepared by Professor Joseph Schafer as vice-chairman and acting executive of the National Board for Historical Service. The bibliography covers with care a wide range, and has useful annotations.

The American Jewish Historical Society held its twenty-seventh annual meeting at Newark on February 11 and 12. Among the papers read was one by Professor R. J. H. Gottheil on the Jews in the Fueros Leonenses de Salamanca, Zamora, y Leon; a preliminary report by Rev. Dr. Abraham A. Neuman on Napoleon and the Jews; a paper by Albert M. Friedenberg on the Value of Old Commercial Letters as a Source of American Jewish History; one by Max J. Kohler on the Board of Delegates of American Israelites, 1859-1878; and a summary report by Julian Leavitt on the War Record of American Jews.

An historical study of a troublesome subject is presented in *International Rivers: a Monograph based on Diplomatic Documents*, by G. Kaeckenbeeck, no. 1 of the Grotius Society Publications (London, Sweet and Maxwell).

Notes on the Diplomatic History of the Jewish Question, by Lucien Wolf (Jewish Historical Society of England), contains texts of many protocols, treaty clauses, public acts, and correspondence.

The British Revolution and the American Democracy, by Norman Angell, is announced for early publication by B. W. Huebsch.

The History Circle of New York City has recently issued, as its first product, a small monograph on *British-American Discords and Concords*. The volume, which covers three centuries, is published by Messrs. Putnam.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Ephraim Emerton, *The Periodization of History* (Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, October-December); J. A. Ryan, *Catholic Doctrine on the Right of Self-Government* (Catholic World, December, January); C. Brinton, *Lord Acton's Philosophy of History* (Harvard Theological Review, January).

ANCIENT HISTORY

Clauses relating to loans, interest, and partnerships constitute the articles in Hammurabi's code which Professor E. Cuq presents in *Les Nouveaux Fragments du Code de Hammourabi sur le Prêt à Intérêt et les Sociétés* (Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, XLI.).

Raymond Weill has collected the important researches which he has published since 1910 in the *Revue Archéologique* and the *Journal*

Asiatique in *La Fin du Moyen Empire Égyptien: Étude sur les Monuments et l'Histoire de la Période comprise entre la XII^e et la XVIII^e Dynastie* (vol. I., Paris, Picard, 1918, pp. xii, 519). He has made a thorough critical study of the Greek tradition, especially as represented by the reporters of Manetho, and has then turned from that to reconstruct the history of the period from the monuments, many of which have come to light in recent years. He presents strong arguments for the short chronology and for the existence of Theban dynasties synchronous with the Hyksos in Lower Egypt.

M. Félix Sartiaux, in a pamphlet of 56 pages, *L'Archéologie Française en Asie Mineure et l'Expansion Allemande* (Paris, Hachette), gives a brief history of the scientific work of France in Asia Minor since the sixteenth century, shows how in the years preceding the war German aggressiveness had interrupted and hindered the work of other nations (for instance, the author's own labors at Phocaea), depicts the recent miseries of the expelled Phocaeans, for whose benefit the pamphlet is sold, and appeals to the society of nations on their behalf.

L. Pareti in the first volume of his *Storia di Sparta Arcaica* (Florence, Libr. Internazionale, 1917, pp. 276) discusses the pre-Greek and pre-Dorian periods and continues to the conquest of Messenia, with an appendix on Cyrene. A second volume will deal with the Spartan constitution and government.

Sycophancy in Athens, by Dr. John O. Lofberg of the University of Texas (University of Chicago, pp. xi, 104), is a thorough treatise on the development of the sycophant—barrator, informer, false accuser, malicious prosecutor, pettifogger—on the opportunities for his activity afforded by the peculiar judicial system of Athens, on his methods as shown by the orators and other writers, and on the careers of a number of typical Athenian sycophants.

Professor E. Pais has continued his history of Rome in two volumes, *Dalle Guerre Puniche a Cesare Augusto* (Rome, Nardecchia, 1918, pp. xii, 762). In large measure the same period furnishes the subjects for consideration by E. Ciaceri in *Processi Politici e Relazioni Internazionali: Studi sulla Storia Politica e sulla Tradizione Letteraria della Repubblica e dell'Impero Romano* (*ibid.*, pp. xi, 434).

As a condensed picture for more or less popular purposes Mrs. Elizabeth O'Neill's *Rome: a History of the City from the Earliest Time* (London, Jack), is an excellent piece of work. The volume belongs to the series *The Nations' Histories*.

E. Cocchia has made a prolonged study of *Il Tribunato della Plebe, la sua Autorità Giudiziaria studiata in rapporto colla Procedura Civile* (Naples, Pierro, 1917, pp. 563).

The Oxford University Press announces *The Life and Reign of the Emperor Lucius Septimius Severus*, by Maurice Platnauer.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Pareti, *Pelasgica* [concl.] (Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica, July); L. Weniger, *Vom Ursprung der Olympischen Spiele* (Rheinisches Museum, LXXII. 1); J. Paris, *Contributions à l'Étude des Ports Antiques du Monde Grec*, II. *Les Établissements Maritimes de Délos* (Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, XL. 1); P. Cloché, *Les Naopes de Delphes et la Politique Hellénique de 356 à 327 av. J. C.* (*ibid.*); M. O. P. Caspari, *A Survey of Greek Federal Coinage* (Journal of Hellenic Studies, XXXVII. 1); U. Kahrstedt, *Zwei Beiträge zur Aelteren Römischen Geschichte* (Rheinisches Museum, LXXII. 2); C. Jullian, *L'Impérialisme Romain et la Gaule* (Revue Hebdomadaire, October 19); W. Soltau, *Die Echten Kaiserbiographien: Der Weg zur Lösung des Problems der Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Philologus, LXXIV. 3).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

In 1913 the work of editing a series entitled *The Beginnings of Christianity* was given to Professors F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake. The Macmillan Company expects to issue the first two volumes, dealing with the Background of the Acts of the Apostles, and the third volume, containing the text of the Acts, this spring. These volumes, while largely the work of the editors, contain contributions from Dr. C. J. G. Montefiore, and Professors H. T. Duckworth and C. H. Moore.

An exceedingly useful reference book is completed by the appearance of volume II. of the *Dictionary of the Apostolic Church*, prepared by Drs. James Hastings, J. A. Selbie, and J. C. Lambert (London, T. and T. Clark).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

An account of *Le Incursioni Vandaliche in Sicilia* (Girgenti, Montes, 1917, pp. 142) is the fruit of the researches of S. La Rocca.

A collection of studies of Benedictine life, *Benedictine Monachism*, by Abbot E. C. Butler, president of the English Benedictines, comes from the press of Messrs. Longmans.

La Vie Religieuse dans l'Empire Byzantin au Temps des Comnènes et des Anges (Paris, Leroux, 1918, pp. iii, 244), by Dr. L. Oeconomos, bears the approving stamp of a preface by Professor C. Diehl.

The first volume of an *Histoire des Normands* (Paris, Fasquelle, 1918, pp. x, 611) has been published by J. Revel.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. K. Porter, *The Rise of Romanesque Sculpture* (American Journal of Archaeology, October-December); Maurice de Wulf, *The Society of Nations in the Thirteenth Century* (International Journal of Ethics, January).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The proposed undertaking of a *Bibliothèque de Synthèse Historique* in a hundred volumes which was announced on the eve of the war (*A. H. R.*, XX. 218) is to be resumed under the direction of M. Henri Berr, who has published, as a sort of prolegomenon, *La Guerre Allemande et la Paix Française; Le Germanisme contre l'Esprit Français; Essai de Psychologie Historique* (Paris, Renaissance du Livre, 1919).

C. Giachetti has written an account of the history of Trent under Austrian rule with the title *La Vigilia di Trento, l'Ultimo Periodo della Dominazione Austriaca nel Trentino* (Milan, Treves, 1917, pp. 276).

A study of Napoleon's continental system, its theory and its actual effects on the peoples concerned, is presented by Mr. Eli F. Herkscher in *Kontinental-Systemet* (*Skrifter utgifna af Handelshögskolan*, III., Stockholm, Norstedt).

Under the supervision of Dr. G. W. Prothero, the Historical Section of the Foreign Office is issuing a series of handbooks on subjects considered of special interest during the peace negotiations. One of these, Professor C. K. Webster's *The Congress of Vienna, 1814-1815*, has recently been published by the Oxford University Press.

The European Commonwealth: Problems Historical and Diplomatic, by J. A. R. Marriott (Oxford, Clarendon Press), is a collection of essays, which together constitute a study of the evolution of the modern state. The period is that between the Napoleonic Wars and the present war.

L. de Lanzac de Laborie has edited an interesting volume of *Correspondances du Siècle Dernier: un Projet de Mariage du Duc d'Orléans, 1836, Lettres de Léopold I^{er} de Belgique à Adolphe Thiers, 1836-1864* (Paris, Beauchesne, 1918).

It is understood that Professor C. D. Hazen will bring out shortly, through Henry Holt and Company, a volume entitled *Fifty Years of Europe* (1868-1918).

From the Teachers' College Press, Sydney, N. S. W., comes a small volume on the causes of the Great War, *European History since 1870*, by C. H. Currey. The titles and the arrangement of the chapters show plainly that affairs of eastern Europe have been given the predominant place and that every effort has been made to follow the last forty years of Balkan politics. The book is intended as a text-book.

The diplomatic relations between Germany and France from 1870 to the outbreak of the Great War have received a fresh contribution in M. Ernest Daudet's *La Mission du Comte de Saint-Vallier* (Plon). The Comte de Saint-Vallier represented France at the Berlin court from December, 1877, to December, 1881, a period in which Bismarck was in singularly conciliatory mood toward France. M. Daudet promises to follow this by a volume on Saint-Vallier's successor Baron de Courcel.

The Game of Diplomacy, "by a European Diplomat" (London, Hutchinson), is the work of a member of the Russian diplomatic service since 1883, who has served in Greece, France, Spain, and Germany.

Grotius: Annuaire International pour l'Année 1917 (the Hague, Nijhoff) contains a number of important articles on recent international relations. Among these are Dr. J. H. W. Verzijl's *La Jurisprudence des Prises et le Droit des Gens*, and Professor G. W. J. Bruins's *Les Mesures relatives à la Crise Économique aux Pays-Bas*, which deals in detail with measures of the Dutch government in the first months of the war. The volume also contains the text of various prize-court decisions in Germany, England, and France.

Some side-currents of the great movements of European affairs in recent years are subject of record or discussion in *Il y a toujours des Pyrénées* (Paris, Payot, 1918) by J. Laborde; and in *Les Pays Méditerranéens et la Guerre* (Paris, Renaissance du Livre, 1918), by Louis Bertrand. Both volumes give considerable attention to Spain and its relations.

The second Balkan war and the preliminaries of the Great War furnish the subjects for the fifth and sixth volumes of A. Gauvain's *L'Europe au Jour le Jour* (Paris, Bossard, 1918-1919). This work is probably the most exhaustive single study of international relations antecedent to the Great War which is at present available. To the same field belongs *La Triple Entente et la Guerre* (Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1918, pp. ix, 362), by A. Gérard.

Messrs. Longmans have recently announced *The History of Zionism in England and France* by M. Nahum Sokolov, with an introduction by Mr. Balfour.

While there are chapters on the present economic problems of the islands of the Pacific in Mr. G. H. Schofield's *The Powers in the Pacific* (John Murray), its chief interest lies in its story of the historical relations of Europe and America to these islands.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Lange, *Villars en Flandre, 1709-1712* (*Revue de Paris*, September 1); E. Gachot, *Les Lignes de Torrès Védras* (*Revue des Études Napoléoniennes*, November); E. Lenient, *Waterloo* (*Annales Révolutionnaires*, October); G. P. Gooch, *Germany's Debt to France* (*Quarterly Review*, January); anon., *La Politique de Benoît XV*. (*Revue de Paris*, October 15, November 1).

THE GREAT WAR

C. Escalle has prepared an *Essai de Bibliographie Méthodique de la Guerre de 1914: Généralités, Mémoires, Correspondances, Biographies, Origines de la Guerre* (Dijon, Berthier, 1918, pp. viii, 191). The second part of Jean Vic's *La Littérature de Guerre: Manuel Méthodique et Critique des Publications de Langue Française, Août 1914-Août 1916*

(Paris, Payot, 1918), previously mentioned (*A. H. R.*, XXIII. 236), has appeared, completing the work as originally announced.

The publication *Guerre de 1914: Documents Officiels, Textes Législatifs et Réglementaires* (Paris, Dalloz, 1914-1918) is now complete to the close of the war, in twenty-four volumes and supplement.

Professors Morris E. Speare and Walter B. Norris of the United States Naval Academy have compiled and edited a volume of readings in contemporary history and literature bearing the title *World War Issues and Ideals* (Ginn and Company, 1918, pp. xi, 461). The collection was prepared especially for use in the War Issues Course of the curriculum laid down for the S. A. T. C., but will be found equally useful in the courses in contemporary history and world issues which are being conducted in most colleges and universities. The readings, which number about fifty, are composed of extracts from speeches and writings of recent or contemporary statesmen, soldiers, scholars, or men of affairs, such as President Wilson, Elihu Root, General Malleterre, Maurice Barrès, Frederick J. Turner, Archibald C. Coolidge, A. Lawrence Lowell, Bainbridge Colby, etc. They are arranged in seven groups: I. The Issues of the World War; II. The Atmosphere of the World War; III. The Spirit of the Warring Nations; IV. Democratic and Autocratic Ideals of Government; V. The New Europe and a Lasting Peace; VI. Features of American Life and Character; VII. American Foreign Policy.

A suggestive experiment in carrying out the plans of the government for the Students' Army Training Corps is presented in the *Outline of a Course on the Issues of the War, as conducted at Dartmouth College*, prepared by Professors H. D. Foster, F. H. Dixon, and J. P. Richardson. The Dartmouth method of conducting the course was to study two contrasting types of nations, comparing them at a variety of points. For the work of the first term, the only one actually given, Germany and England were used as the typical states.

A *History of the World War*, by F. A. March and R. J. Beamish, for which Gen. Peyton C. March writes an introduction, has come from the press (Philadelphia, Winston). The volume is illustrated with reproductions from the official photographs of the United States, British, and French governments.

Charles Benoist has reprinted a second volume of his fortnightly political surveys from the *Revue des Deux Mondes* in *L'Europe en Feu, Chroniques de la Grande Guerre* (Paris, Perrin, 1918) covering the latter half of 1916. General Malleterre has issued the fourth volume of his *Études et Impressions de Guerre* (Paris, Tallandier, 1918) dealing with the fourth year of the war. J. Reinach's *Les Commentaires de Polybe* (Paris, Fasquelle, 1918) has reached its fifteenth volume. *Dix-Huit Mois de Guerre, Juillet 1916 à Décembre 1917* (Paris, Hachette,

1918) is the seventh volume in the series by G. Jollivet. General Palat (Pierre Lehautcourt) devotes the third volume of *La Grande Guerre sur le Front Occidental* (Paris, Chapelot, 1918) to the battles of the Ardennes and the Sambre. The period from October, 1915, to February, 1917, is covered in the second volume of E. Guillot's *Précis de la Guerre de 1914* (*ibid.*, pp. 320).

Questions of international relations and of international law raised by the war are discussed by J. Joubert in *A travers les Continents pendant la Guerre: Questions de Politique Étrangère et Coloniale* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1918, pp. xvii, 328); by L. Maccas in *La Grande Guerre, les Nations et les Hommes* (*ibid.*); by A. Gauvain in *L'Affaire Grecque* (Paris, Bossard, 1918, pp. 207); by R. de Villeneuve-Trans in *La Liberté des Mers: le Blocus de l'Allemagne et la Guerre Sous-Marine* (Paris, Pedone, 1917); by R. A. Reiss in *Les Infractions aux Règles et Lois de la Guerre* (Paris, Payot, 1918); and by F. Smith in *The Destruction of Merchant Ships under International Law* (London, 1917, pp. 110).

The general content and character of *La Guerre Allemande et la Conscience Universelle* (Paris, Payot, 1918) by Prince Albert of Monaco have been made known through summaries in the daily press. Two volumes of the war-time utterances of Maximilian Harden have appeared under the title *Krieg und Frieden* (Berlin, Reiss, 1918). G. Choisy has added *L'Allemagne Secrète* (Paris, Albin Michel, 1918) to the French indictments of Germany.

Forty Days in 1914 by Maj.-Gen. Sir Frederick Maurice (London, Constable) narrates the history of the August advance and the first battle of the Marne.

A strategical study of the Verdun battles is essayed by Joseph Reinach in *L'Année de Verdun* (Charpentier).

The Dardanelles Campaign, by H. W. Nevinston (London, Nisbet), is one of the best of the many accounts of the Dardanelles expedition which have appeared.

On the same subject is Maj.-Gen. Sir C. E. Callwell's study, *The Dardanelles*, announced by Messrs. Constable as forthcoming at an early date.

Volume IV. of Sir A. Conan Doyle's history of the Great War, *The British Campaigns in France and Flanders* (Hodder and Stoughton), deals with the operations of 1917. The same publishers announce *The Naval History of the War* by Sir Henry Newbolt and *The Aerial History of the War* by C. G. White.

Captain Raymond Recouly of the French General Staff, noted as a military critic, has prepared a biography of Marshal Foch which the firm of Charles Scribner's Sons is to publish this spring.

The fortunes of several cities in the war zone in France are recorded in the following volumes: P. H. Courrière, *Comment fut sauvé Paris: l'Ourcq, 5-10 Septembre 1914* (Paris, Perrin, 1918); Commandant Cassou, *La Vérité sur le Siège de Maubeuge* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1919); E. Colin, *Saint-Dié sous la Botte: une Mission imposée par les Allemands en 1914* (ibid.); Capitaine Thobie, *La Prise de Carencey par le Pic et par le Mine* (ibid., 1918, pp. vii, 247); and P. L. Péchanard, bishop of Soissons, *Le Martyre de Soissons, Août 1914-Juillet 1918* (Paris, Beauchesne, 1918, pp. 434).

The organization and work of the English navy are dealt with by Admiral Viscount Jellicoe in *The Grand Fleet, 1914-1916* (Cassell). The naval side of the war is also treated by Archibald Hurd and H. H. Bashford in *Sons of Admiralty* (Constable).

Heroes of Aviation, by Laurence L. Driggs (Boston, Little, Brown, 1918, pp. xxvi, 301) is a popular account, drawn largely from periodicals devoted to aviation, such as *La Guerre Aérienne*, of the adventures and combats, mainly of allied aviators, on all fronts. Of especial interest to Americans are the chapters dealing with the Lafayette Escadrille and American Aces. The appendix contains lists of aces to August 1, 1918, and of officially confirmed American victories in the air.

Two further issues of the *Preliminary Economic Studies of the War*, put forth by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, are a treatise of 302 pages on *The Effects of the War upon Insurance, with Special Reference to the Substitution of Insurance for Pensions*, by Professor W. F. Gephart of St. Louis, and a survey of *The Financial History of Great Britain, 1914-1918* (pp. 101), by President Frank L. McVey of the University of Kentucky.

Though *German Colonies: a Plea for the Native Races*, by Sir Hugh Clifford (Murray), is avowedly intended as a brief against the restoration of the German colonies, the student cannot afford to ignore the historical sketch of European methods in dealing with native races which it presents.

The American Association for International Conciliation has brought out a small volume entitled *A League of Nations* (pp. 132), including an annotated reading list (pp. 47) on international organization. *The Society of Nations: its Past, Present, and Possible Future*, by Rev. Thomas J. Lawrence, reader in international law in the University of Bristol, England, is published in New York by the Oxford University Press. *The Economic Basis of the League of Nations*, by J. L. Garvin, editor of the *London Observer*, will shortly be issued by the Macmillan Company.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. S. Davis, *The Roots of the War*, III., IV. (Century Magazine, February, March); J. Reinach, *La Rentrée de la Surprise dans la Guerre* (Revue de Paris, August 1);

Maj.-Gen. Sir Frederick Maurice, *The First and Second Battles of the Marne* (Harper's Magazine, January); J. Isaac, *La Deuxième Bataille de la Marne* (Revue de Paris, September 15); General Malletterre, *How the War was won*, I. (Harper's Magazine, March); R. La Bruyère, *L'Échec de la Guerre Sous-Marine* (Revue des Deux Mondes, October 1, 15); Admiral Degouy, *Les Insurrections dans la Marine Allemande* (Revue de Paris, December 1); J. Lefranc, *Les Progrès de l'Aviation et l'Effort Allemand* (*ibid.*, July 1); J. Chopin, *Les Tchéco-Slovaques en Russie* (*ibid.*, August 15); Dr. Simon, *Une Campagne au Hedjaz [1916-1917]* (*ibid.*, September 1); H. A. Gibbons, *The Armistices and Peace Negotiations* (Century Magazine, February).

(See also pp. 553-554, *infra*.)

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

For the last five years there has been in preparation a *Repertory of British Archives*, which will soon be issued by the Royal Historical Society. The publication is to consist of (1) a classified list of public records, (2) a synopsis of local records, (3) a directory of British archives. Part I., which deals with England, is ready for the press; part II. is to cover the archives of the Dominions and the crown colonies.

Mr. Arthur Hassall is the compiler of a useful volume for reference in *British History chronologically arranged*, 55 B. C.-A. D. 1914, which the Macmillan Company is soon to publish.

Mr. J. L. Sanford's *Introduction to English History* contains a curiously miscellaneous collection of facts concerning England and English history. Twenty-six of its ninety pages are devoted to the Magna Carta; lists of tribes of England and Wales at the time of the Roman invasion, of the English and the Scottish kings, of the English and Welsh shires are among the other scraps of information here presented.

Sir R. H. I. Palgrave has for some years been preparing for the press a complete edition of the historical works of his father, Sir Francis Palgrave. The first volumes of this edition are soon to come from the Cambridge University Press.

From a body of material which the researches of scholars in various fields have considerably increased during the last hundred years, Mr. Archibald B. Scott has written *The Pictish Nation: its People and its Church* (T. N. Foulis).

That a book may well be both scholarly and readable is shown by a short but excellent study of *Henry II.* by L. F. Salzmann (Constable).

Administrative records in the Chancery and the Exchequer have furnished much of the material for a forthcoming work by J. C. Davies, *The Baronial Opposition to Edward II.* (Cambridge University Press).

The Cambridge University Press announces for early publication *The People's Faith in the Time of Wyclif*, by B. L. Manning.

Before his death the late Professor Alexander R. MacEwen of the United Free Church College in Edinburgh had carried his masterly study of the Scottish church forward for a period of fourteen years, 1546-1560, and this material, though it stops abruptly, has been published as volume II. of the author's *History of the Church of Scotland* (Hodder and Stoughton). For the general reader a work of very different character has recently appeared in Mr. Ninian Hill's concise *Story of the Scottish Church from the Earliest Times* (Glasgow, MacLehose).

A slight but entertaining bibliographical study is presented by *Bulletin no. 30* of the Department of History and Political and Economic Science in Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, *English Courtesy Literature before 1559*, by F. B. Millett.

Volume IV., no. 2, of the *Smith College Studies in History* consists of a group of three studies relative to Sir John Eliot by Miss Mary B. Fuller, associate professor of history in Smith College. The first relates to Eliot and the case of John Nutt, a pirate; the second, to the Parliament of 1621 and the relation of King James to it; the third, to the *Negotium Posterorum* and the Parliament of 1625.

Houghton Mifflin Company announces for early publication *Contributions of the British Empire to Civilization*, by Lord Charnwood.

A volume promising to be of interest to students of American history is Dr. R. H. Fox's *Dr. Fothergill and his Friends: Chapters in Eighteenth Century Life*, announced by Messrs. Macmillan. Dr. Fothergill was a Quaker physician of London who had considerable relations with the American colonies.

A presentation of British foreign policy as a continuous and consistent development, seems to be the most valuable contribution offered by the Hon. Arthur D. Elliot's *Traditions of British Statesmanship: Some Comments on Passing Events* (Constable).

J. A. Hobson's *Richard Cobden: The International Man*, published by Mr. Fisher Unwin, is the latest addition to the latter's series of *Makers of the Nineteenth Century*.

The Right Hon. G. W. E. Russell, in his two recent books of recollections, seems not to have exhausted his reminiscent vein, for we are now presented with a third, *Prime Ministers and some Others* (Fisher Unwin), in which are found tales of eleven prime ministers, chief of whom, judged wholly by the vividness of the impression which he made on Russell, seems to have been Disraeli.

No student of Irish affairs can afford to neglect Mr. P. S. O'Hegarty's *Sinn Fein: an Illumination* (Dublin, Maunsell), despite its obvious bias, for it sets forth the growth of the Sinn Fein movement with knowledge and vigor.

G. P. Putnam's Sons announce for early publication *The British Em-*

pire and a League of Peace, a pamphlet by Professor George Burton Adams.

A volume of *Occasional Addresses, 1893-1916* (London, Macmillan, 1918, pp. x, 194) by Mr. Asquith has been published.

The leading article in the *Victorian Historical Magazine* for September is one on the Administration of Captain Lonsdale, by Professor Ernest Scott, a contribution to the history of British empire-building.

Documentary publications: *Visitations of Religious Houses in the Diocese of Lincoln*, II., *Record of Visitations held by William Alnwick, Bishop of Lincoln, A. D. 1436-1449*, pt. I., ed. A. H. Thompson (Lincoln Record Society); *Lincoln Wills*, II., A. D. 1505-May, 1530, ed. C. W. Foster (*id.*); *Chapter Acts of the Cathedral Church of St. Mary, Lincoln, 1536-1547*, ed. R. E. G. Cole (*id.*); *Liverpool Town Books, 1550-1862*, I., 1550-1571, ed. J. A. Tremlow (Liverpool, University Press); *The Assembly Books of Southampton*, I., 1602-1608, ed. J. W. Horrocks (Southampton Record Society); *Historical Records of Australia*, series I., *Despatches to and from Sir Thomas Brisbane*, II., January, 1823-November, 1825 (Sydney, Library Committee of Commonwealth Parliament).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. L. Poole, *St. Wilfrid and the See of Ripon* (English Historical Review, January); *id.*, *The Chronology of Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica and the Councils of 679-680* (Journal of Theological Studies, October); M. M. Bigelow, *Becket and the Law* (Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, October-December); Gaillard Lapsley, *Knights of the Shire in the Parliaments of Edward II.* (English Historical Review, January); L. Cust, *Portraits of King Henry VIII.* (Burlington Magazine, XXXI.); Miller Christy, *Queen Elizabeth's Visit to Tilbury* (English Historical Review, January); G. G. Dixon, *Notes on the Records of the Custom House, London* (*ibid.*); L. E. Levinthal, *The Early History of English Bankruptcy* (University of Pennsylvania Law Review, January); G. Rageot, *M. Lloyd George* (Revue des Deux Mondes, January 1); *Unwritten History: Unpublished Correspondence of Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George* (Atlantic Monthly, February).

FRANCE

From reports made to the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres by M. Charles V. Langlois, director of the Archives Nationales, we learn that the rich archives of the Département du Nord, at Lille, were preserved from German destruction by the care of M. Bruchet, the archivist; that despite the destruction of Reims, its archives are saved, M. Langlois himself having seasonably transported them to Toulouse; that the municipal archives of Cambrai were entirely destroyed in the deliberate and needless burning of the Hotel de Ville;

that at Douai, where methodical pillage of libraries and collections by experts had prevailed down to the expulsion of the inhabitants in last October, much casual and wanton destruction occurred in the six weeks intervening between that date and German evacuation; and that the archives of the Aisne, at Laon, and of the Ardennes, at Mézières, were found in great disorder, with evidences of much plundering. At Laon the archives of the *seigneurie* of Roncey, bought in 1908 of a lady who has since married a German official, had, "curiously enough", entirely disappeared! Careful inventories will in all cases be taken, and losses published, "de manière à ce que, quand même 93 professeurs et savants ridiculement affublés du titre d'*Excellenz*, ou aspirant à en jouir, déclareraient encore, sans en rien savoir, 'Ce n'est pas vrai', nul ne les prendrait au sérieux".

E. Griselle has edited *Lettres de la Main de Louis XIII.* (Paris, Société des Bibliophiles Français, 1919, pp. xxxii, 688, in two vols.). The collection contains 502 letters from the years 1617-1626, with appendices and index.

Professor H. Lemonnier has edited for the Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français the fifth volume of the *Procès-Verbaux de l'Académie Royale d'Architecture, 1671-1793* (Paris, Champion, 1918) which covers the years 1727-1743. The *Correspondance de Soufflot avec les Directeurs des Bâtiments concernant la Manufacture des Gobelins, 1756-1780* (Paris, Lemerre, 1918, pp. 328) has been edited by J. Mondain-Monval, who has also published *Soufflot, sa Vie, son Oeuvre, son Esthétique, 1713-1780* (*ibid.*).

There has recently appeared the third volume of Pierre de la Gorce's *Histoire Religieuse de la Révolution Française* (Paris, Plon, 1918). A volume on *Les Bénédictins de Saint-Vanne et la Révolution* (Paris, Champion, 1918, pp. 325) is by J. E. Godefroy; and one on *Louis XVI., Roi et Martyr, et sa Béatification* (Paris, Société Française d'Imprimerie, 1916, pp. 205) is by Abbé A. Delassus.

The last fruit of the diligent editorial labors of the late Alexandre Tuetey was the publication of the *Correspondance du Ministre de l'Intérieur relative au Commerce, aux Subsistances, et à l'Administration Générale, 16 Avril-14 Octobre 1792* (Paris, Leroux, 1917, pp. xlii, 760), prepared for the *Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire Économique de la Révolution Française*.

La Jeunesse de Joseph Joubert and *Joseph Joubert et la Révolution* (Paris, Perrin, 1918-1919) are the first two volumes of an extended work by A. Beaunier. In addition to Joubert's fame as a moralist he is interesting because of his acquaintance with personages prominent in the political, intellectual, and literary life of the revolutionary period.

To the *Cambridge Historical Series* there is soon to be added a *His-*
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tory of Modern France in two volumes, by Professor Émile Bourgeois. The work is to cover the period from the restoration of the Bourbons to the election of President Poincaré.

Histoire de Trois Générations, 1815-1918, by Jacques Bainville, deals with the more important events in French history from the time of Waterloo till the present war (Paris, Nouvelle Librairie Nationale).

A. de Chambure has presented a survey of French journalism during the war in *Quelques Guides de l'Opinion en France pendant la Grande Guerre, 1914-1918* (Paris, Celin, Mary, Elen et Cie., 1918, pp. xxvii, 223). C. Maurras has turned his clever pen upon *Les Chefs Socialistes pendant la Guerre* (Paris, Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1918, pp. 336). Léon Daudet shows his customary virulence in *Le Poignard dans le Dos: Notes sur l'Affaire Malvy* (*ibid.*, pp. 352).

Biographies and character sketches of Clemenceau are the order of the day, as witness: *Clemenceau* (Paris, Payot, 1918) by C. Ducray; *Clemenceau, suivi d'une Étude de Louis Lumet avec Citations de G. Clemenceau sur les États-Unis d'Amérique* (Paris, Crès, 1918) by G. Geffroy; *Georges Clemenceau, sa Vie, son Oeuvre, avec des Pages Choisis, annotés par Louis Lumet* (Paris, Larousse, 1919, illustrated) by the same author; *Clemenceau* (Paris, Fasquelle, 1918) by G. Lecomte; *Clemenceau* (Paris, Mendel, 1918) by A. Mailloux; and *Notre Clemenceau jugé par un Catholique* (Paris, Jouve, 1918, pp. 160) by J. Raymond. Some of the earlier war-time utterances of Clemenceau are collected in the two volumes *La France devant l'Allemagne*, and *Dans les Champs du Pouvoir* (Paris, Payot), while his more important later speeches are circulated in separate pamphlets.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Batiffol, *Paris en Danger, 1636* (Revue de Paris, July 1); L. Madelin, *Le Rhin Français* (Revue des Deux Mondes, December 1); R. Lote, *Comment les Philosophes du XVIII^e Siècle ont préparé la Révolution* (Revue Hebdomadaire, October 19); P. Orsi, *Come si arrivò alla Rivoluzione Francese, dai Dispacci degli Ambasciatori Veneti* (Nuova Antologia, September 16); Comte de Calan, *Le Recrutement Régional des Partis Politiques de 1789 à 1914, III. Un Pays d'Extrême Gauche, la Provence* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, October); J. Monteilhet, *L'Avènement de la Nation Armée* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, September, November); G. Pariset, *La Guerre et l'Opinion en France pendant la 1^{re} Coalition, 1792-1797* (Compte Rendu de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, November); A. Mathiez, *Danton et la Paix* (Revue des Nations Latines, November 1, 15, December 1, January 1); *id.*, *Les Deux Versions du Procès des Hébertistes* (Annales Révolutionnaires, January); A. Chuquet, *Décembre 1812: le Retour de l'Empereur* (Revue de Paris, December 1, 15).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

Recent publications of documentary materials for Italian history in the Middle Ages include C. Cipolla and G. Buzzi, *Codice Diplomatico del Monastero di S. Colombano di Bobbio fino all' anno MCVIII*. (Rome, Istituto Storico Italiano, 1918, 3 vols., pp. xvi, 433; 380; 280); the second volume (1363-1385) of the *Repertorio Diplomatico Visconteo, Documenti dal 1263 al 1402* (Milan, Hoepli, 1918); A. Cutrera, *L'Archivio del Senato di Trapani dal Sec. XIV. al XVIII.* (Trapani, Modica, 1917, pp. 107); and *Documenti per servire alla Storia di Sicilia*, second series, vol. IX. (Palermo, Scuola Tip. Boccone del Povero, 1917, pp. 384) published by the Società Siciliana di Storia Patria.

The Jews at Florence during the Renaissance have furnished the subject for a thorough work by U. Cassuto entitled *Gli Ebrei a Firenze nell'Età del Rinascimento* (Florence, Galletti and Cocci, 1918, pp. vii, 447).

To the series of elaborate histories of the Society of Jesus in various countries and provinces which have been appearing in recent years, A. Monti has added *La Compagnia di Gesù nel Territorio della Provincia Torinese* (Chieri, Ghirardi, 1917, pp. 654).

C. Montalcini and A. Alberti have prepared *Assemblee della Repubblica Cisalpina* (Bologna, Zanichelli, 1917, 2 vols., pp. cccvi, 824; 845).

Pietro Silva has devoted to Italy's part in the Seven Weeks' War *Il Sessantasei, Studi Storici* (Milan, Treves, 1917, pp. 320).

To a fuller understanding of Italian problems two recent books make a useful contribution: *La Guerra Europea: Scritti e Discorsi*, by Antonio de Viti de Marco (Rome, Unità), and *I Problemi dello Stato Italiano dopo la Guerra*, by Vittorio Scialoja (Bologna, Zanichelli).

C. A. Millares has issued the first volume of *Documentos Pontificios en Papiers de Archivos Catalanes, Estudio Paleográfico y Diplomático* (Madrid, Fortanet, 1918, pp. 274).

Sections of the *Guía Histórica y Descriptiva de los Archivos de España* relating to the archives at Simancas appeared as supplements to the January to July, 1918, issues of the *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos*.

No. 20 of the *Boletín del Centro de Estudios Americanistas de Sevilla* completes Señor Aguilar's extended notes on Miranda, which began in no. 19. It also carries nearly to completion the summary view of the classification of the Archivo General de Indias, which the archivist, Don Pedro Torres Lanzas, and Don Germán Latorre have been issuing in installments. This has now been issued as a book, *Catálogo: Cuadro General de la Documentación* (Seville, Centro de Estudios Americanistas, 1918, pp. 167). The book, though not running into great detail, will hereafter be an indispensable manual for all workers in the Archives of the Indies.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. de la Sizeranne, *Autour d'un Buste de Béatrice d'Este* (Revue des Deux Mondes, October 1); *id.*, *Béatrice d'Este et Ludovic le More* (*ibid.*, October 15); *id.*, *Isabelle d'Aragon et Bianca Sforza* (*ibid.*, November 15); F. Masson, *Les Derniers Jours de Murat, 19 Mai-13 Octobre 1815, I.* (Revue des Deux Mondes, January 15); A. Monti, *La Diplomazia di Governo Provvisorio* [Lombardy, 1848] (Nuova Antologia, October 1); L. B. Holland, *The Origin of the Horseshoe Arch in Northern Spain* (American Journal of Archaeology, October-December); C. Espejo, *La Renta de Salinas hasta la Muerte de Felipe II.* (Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos, January, March, July, 1918); A. G. A. Palencia, *Fragmentos del Archivo Particular de Antonio Perez, Secretario de Felipe II., I.-II.* (*ibid.*, March, May).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Volume II. of *Luther's Correspondence*, edited by Professor Preserved Smith and Dr. C. M. Jacobs, the first volume of which appeared in 1913, has recently come from the press of the Lutheran Publication Society (Philadelphia).

Messrs. Allen and Unwin announce for early publication a new work by W. H. Dawson, *The German Empire, 1867-1914*, in which the major emphasis is placed upon Anglo-German relations.

The third and last volume of Sir Adolphus W. Ward's *Germany, 1815-1890*, has appeared from the Cambridge University Press. This volume covers the years 1871-1890.

Some episodes in Prussian expansion are recorded by Capitaine Carteron in *Les Anciennes Ambitions Maritimes et Coloniales de la Maison de Hohenzollern, les Tentatives du Grand Électeur: Étude d'Histoire Diplomatique* (Paris, Tenin, 1918, pp. 147); by H. Wendt in *Schlesien und der Orient: ein Geschichtlicher Rückblick* (Breslau, Hirt, 1916, pp. x, 244), which is the twenty-first volume of the *Quellen und Darstellungen zur Schlesiischen Geschichte*; and by Dr. Georg von Frantzius in *Die Okkupation Ostpreussens durch den Russen im Siebenjährigen Kriege* (Berlin, Ebering, 1916, pp. 127), for which Russian sources have been utilized.

Professor W. W. Willoughby has brought out through Messrs. Appleton a volume entitled *Prussian Political Philosophy: its Principles and Implications*.

The American Association for International Conciliation has brought together in a single volume, *The Disclosures from Germany*, three of its earlier publications (nos. 127, 130, and Special Bulletin, November, 1918), the Lichnowsky Memorandum, the Reply of Herr von Jagow, translated and edited by Professor Munroe Smith, Memoranda and Letters of Dr. Muehlton also prepared by Professor Smith, and the Dawn of Germany, by Dr. James B. Scott. The first two of these have already been noticed in this journal (XXIV. 153, 318).

Prince Maximilian of Baden intended to render an account of his administration as German Chancellor in the Upper Chamber of the Parliament of Baden. Unable to carry out this plan, he permitted the publication of his proposed address in the *Preussische Jahrbücher* for December; a translation has been printed in the *Living Age* for February 1. The important address which Count Czernin delivered on December 12 in defense of his policy as Foreign Minister and Premier of Austria was printed in full in the *Neue Freie Presse* of December 12. A full translation of this—as of much other German newspaper matter—is available in the office of the National Board for Historical Service.

Countess Olga Leutrum in *Court and Diplomacy in Austria and Germany: What I Know* (London, Unwin, 1918) has gathered information from her life in Austrian court and diplomatic circles which constitutes one of the most telling indictments of the Central Powers as responsible for the Great War. The book was addressed to her own people, the Russians, to convince them from her own knowledge of the malevolent designs of Germany and Austria against them.

Professor Wilhelm Oechsli of Zurich has lately published a new edition (Zurich, Schulthess) of his well-known and admirable *Quellenbuch zur Schweizergeschichte*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. A. Phillips, *The Ethics of Prussian Statecraft* (Quarterly Review, October); A. D. McLaren, *The German Banks and "Peaceful Penetration"* (*ibid.*, January); G. Bourdon, *Le "Pacifisme" Allemand d'Avant-Guerre* (Revue de Paris, August 1); J. Chopin, *Les Déceptions d'un Austrophile* [Palacky] (*ibid.*, July 15); G. E. Sherman, *The Neutrality of Switzerland*, I., II., III. (American Journal of International Law, April, July, October).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

In vol. III. of the *Economisch-Historisch Jaarboek* (Hague, Nijhoff, 1917) the leading element is a body of documents respecting maritime freights, 1568–1596, edited by Dr. H. E. van Gelder.

For the Vereeniging Het Nederlandsch Economisch-Historisch Archief, Dr. N. Posthumus intends to prepare a series of ten documentary volumes on *Buitenlandsche Handelspolitiek van Nederland in de Negentiende Eeuw*. Three volumes will be concerned with the negotiations for commercial treaties with England, 1813–1870, a fourth with negotiations with that country respecting rights in Java, three others with relations to Germany, France, Belgium, and the rest of Europe; an eighth volume will relate to America and the Barbary powers, a ninth to the East Asiatic states, while the tenth will contain the introduction.

Dr. Catharina Ligtenberg, whose book on Willem Usselinx was noticed in a previous volume of this journal (XX. 879) is to edit for the same society a volume of the *Geschriften van Willem Usselinx*.

The relations of the kingdom of the Netherlands to the Great War form the chief topic in *Gross-Deutschland, la Belgique et la Hollande* (Paris, Van Oest, 1918, pp. 221).

The series of *Les Cahiers Belges* (Paris, Van Oest) has continued to include interesting materials relative to Belgium and its participation in the Great War. Of special worth is the number containing a full discussion of *Les Traités de 1831 et de 1839* (pp. 158) by Trévière and Nervien.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Émile Cammaerts, *The Frontiers of Belgium* (Edinburgh Review, January).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

Svend Dahl and P. Engelstoft have begun the publication of a *Dansk Biografisk Haandlexikon* (Copenhagen, 1918) which will include articles on persons still living as well as on those deceased.

The principal events in the political history of the inhabitants of Finland, the Baltic Provinces, Lithuania, Poland, and the Ukraine are set forth by Ralph Butler in *The New Eastern Europe*, announced by Messrs. Longmans.

An historical study written with special intent to make present conditions in Russia intelligible is *Russia from the Varangians to the Bolsheviks*, by Professor Raymond Beazley, Nevill Forbes, and G. A. Birkett (Oxford, Clarendon Press).

Baron A. Heyking, former Russian consul-general at London, has published a volume on *Problems confronting Russia and affecting Russo-British Political and Economic Intercourse; a Retrospect and a Forecast* (London, King, 1918, pp. xvi, 219).

The Prelude to Bolshevism: the Kornilov Rebellion, published by Fisher Unwin, is Kerensky's personal account of Russian events with which he was concerned. The same publisher announces Trotsky's personal account of Russian events, *History of the Russian Revolution, to Brest-Litovsk*, which is said to be not propaganda but a serious attempt to describe the steps in the Revolution as historical events.

Miss Meriel Buchanan, the daughter of the British ambassador to Russia, has, in *Petrograd, the City of Trouble* (London, Collins), presented a vivid picture of events in that city down to January, 1918.

Professor O. Tafrali of the University of Jassy is the author of *La Roumanie Transdanubienne, la Dobroudja* (Paris, Leroux, 1918), and N. P. Comnène, of *La Dobrogea, Essai Historique, Économique, Ethnographique, et Politique* (Paris, Payot, 1918). *Les Roumains* (Paris, Bossard, 1918) by D. Draghicesco relates primarily to the Rumanians of Transylvania. Professor N. Jorga has presented several topics in *Pages Roumaines* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1918, pp. x, 111). D. Ian-

covici has prepared a full account and discussion of *La Paix de Bucarest, 7 Mai 1918* (Paris, Payot, 1918).

A valuable contribution on Rumania's part in the war is *Notes sur la Guerre Roumaine* by N. P. Comnène (Paris, Payot).

M. Gaston Gravier, who fell in battle in Artois in 1915, had before the war devoted four years in Serbia, where he was lecturer in the University of Belgrade, to studies in the history and geography of that country. One of the results is a volume on *Les Frontières Historiques de la Serbie*, finished in 1914 and now published (Paris, Armand Colin).

G. Yakchitch has issued a revised edition of his *L'Europe et la Résurrection de la Serbie* (Paris, Hachette, 1917, pp. 528). R. I. Odavitch has prepared an *Essai de Bibliographie Française sur les Serbes, Croates, et Slovènes depuis le Commencement de la Guerre Actuelle* (Paris, the author, 1918, pp. 160). E. Gascoin has written a volume on *Les Victoires Serbes en 1916* (Paris, Bossard, 1919) and Dr. P. Maridort has recorded observations *En Macédoine, 1915-1917* (Paris, Fischbacher, 1918, pp. 173).

M. Ernest Daudet is responsible for *Ferdinand I^{er}, Tsar de Bulgarie*, the first volume of a new series, *Les Complices des Auteurs de la Guerre*. The work is described by the author as "a footnote to the history of Bulgaria".

Les Bulgares peints par Eux-mêmes (Paris, Payot, 1918) is a considerable compilation by V. Kuhne, with an introduction by A. Gauvain.

The earlier history of Salonika is narrated by Professor O. Tafrali of the University of Jassy in *Thessalonique, des Origines au Quatorzième Siècle* (Paris, Leroux, 1918).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. Pinon, *La Reconstruction de l'Europe Orientale* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, January 15); H. G. Wright, *The Revolution in Finland: Its Causes and Results* (*Quarterly Review*, January); A. Palmieri, *The Earliest Theorists of Russian Revolution* (*Catholic World*, January); E. Daudet, *L'Avènement d'Alexandre III.* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, November 15); L. Grondijs, *La Russie en Feu, Journal d'un Correspondant de Guerre, Janvier-Mars 1918* (*ibid.*, October 15, November 1); A. Ivanov, *À travers la Russie Démente* (*Revue de Paris*, September 1); O. de L., *The Ukraine* (*Edinburgh Review*, January).

ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

Travels in Egypt and Mesopotamia, in Search of Antiquities, 1886-1913 (John Murray, 2 vols.), by Dr. E. G. Wallis Budge, gives a full account of the excavations in Assyria and Babylonia from 1782 to 1913.

A recent *Bulletin* of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts summarizes the results of the excavations at Nuri made during the last four years under the direction of Dr. George Reisner of Harvard University.

Dr. François Villeneuve has published an excellent *Essai sur Perse* (Paris, Hachette, 1918, pp. xiv, 540) as his doctoral thesis.

Mr. E. B. Havell in *The History of Aryan Rule in India from the Earliest Times to the Death of Akbar* (London, Harrap) lays claim to no original investigation but brings together in readable form a large amount of material in the fields of archaeology, art, education, and industry.

The first volume of *A History of the Maratha People*, by C. A. Kinkaid and Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis, has recently appeared from the Oxford University Press. This carries the narrative to 1680; later volumes will continue it to the fall of the Mahrattas in 1818.

In addition to what was said in our last number (p. 330) respecting the *New China Review*, it may be well to mention that orders for volume I. should be sent direct to the publishers, Messrs. Kelly and Walsh in Shanghai, and that the subscription price is now fixed at nine dollars Mexican. Six numbers per annum will be issued, the first having appeared in March of this year.

Volumes II. and III. of *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, by H. B. Morse (Longmans), cover the years 1861 to 1911, years of unusual interest in the diplomatic history of the East.

The conditions and problems of Japan since its entry into the World War are to some extent set forth in the following books, though considerable portions especially of the first two are devoted to affairs before the war: J. Dautremier, *Chez nos Alliés Japonais, Esquisse Historique, Passé, Évolution, Présent* (Paris, Garnier, 1914, pp. vi, 299); A. M. Pooley, *Japan at the Cross Roads* (London, Allen and Unwin, 1917, pp. 362); A. Bellessort, *Le Nouveau Japon* (Paris, Perrin, 1918); and F. Coleman, *The Far East Unveiled* (London, Cassell, 1918).

AFRICA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

La Question d'Afrique, Étude sur les Rapports de l'Europe et de l'Afrique depuis les Origines jusqu'à la Grande Guerre de 1914 (Paris, Alcan, 1918, pp. xi, 391) by R. Ronze; and *La Question Africaine* (Paris, Van Oest, 1918) by Baron Beyens are timely presentations of African affairs with some reference to their historical origins.

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The cessation of warfare has made it possible for the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington to resume that portion of its work which has consisted in the preparation of guides to materials for American history in European archives. In April Mr. A. J. F. van Laer, archivist of the state of New York, sails for Holland

in order to make for the Institution such a survey of the materials for American history in the archives of the Netherlands. Professor Herbert C. Bell, of Bowdoin College, hitherto a captain in the headquarters staff of the American Expeditionary Forces in France, expects to be able to proceed to London in June, to perform there in the Colonial Office Papers a part of the preparation of an inventory of the material relating to the history of the British West Indies, especially in their relation to the continental American colonies; the complementary portion of the book will be an inventory of the archives preserved in the islands themselves, to be prepared later—except that the Department already has a full report on the archives of Jamaica, made in 1916 by Mr. Luis M. Pérez, librarian of the Cuban House of Representatives. In 1920 Dr. Amandus Johnson expects to prepare for the Institution a guide to the materials for American history in the archives of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway.

The *Annual Report* of the librarian of Congress for 1918 announces a noteworthy series of accessions to the Division of Manuscripts, offering (pp. 32-44) a description of each group. The principal groups, nearly all of which have already been mentioned in these pages, are the papers of Jeremiah S. Black, Reverdy Johnson, William Wirt, Rear-Admiral Louis M. Goldsborough, John L. Bozman and John L. Kerr, Edmond Genet and James L. Petigru, two volumes of those of William Blathwayt, additional papers of Thomas Jefferson, Rear-Admiral Andrew H. Foote, and Samuel F. B. Morse, and the remainder of the papers of the family of Argenteau.

Among the recent accessions to the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress are: papers of John Lloyd, merchant of Alexandria, 1806-1867 (about 5000 pieces); additions to the papers of John Sherman (about 250 pieces); miscellaneous papers and letters of James Buchanan and Harriet Lane Johnston, 1827-1887 (about 650 pieces); letters of Brig.-Gen. John P. Hatch, 1845-1863 (about 135 pieces); letters of Edward Curtis to Samuel B. Ruggles, 1841-1853 (about 45 pieces); miscellaneous papers of Philip Mazzei, 1773-1817 (31 pieces); letters of Nathaniel P. Hobart, 1811-1832 (Protestant Episcopal Church affairs, 20 pieces); papers of Comte and Marquis de Langeron, 1761-1789 (about 460 pieces); letter-books of George, Lord Macartney, governor of Grenada and Tobago, 1777-1779 (four volumes); letter-book of letters from Baring and Company, London, to the United States treasury, 1802-1833; miscellaneous letters and papers of the Russian-American Company concerning relations between the United States and Mexico prior to the purchase of Alaska; Mexican and Central American Indian dialects, 5 volumes; sundry Revolutionary records, miscellaneous treasury records, etc. The library has also received on deposit the following, which are not yet open to investigators: letters of Anne Gilchrist to Walt Whitman, 1871-1885 (72 pieces); Walt Whitman's note-

books, 1855-1863 (24 volumes); papers of Theodore Roosevelt; papers of William H. Taft.

Ten more volumes of Professor Allen Johnson's series of *Chronicles of America* have been distributed to subscribers by the Yale University Press.

The firm of Doran will publish a *History of the United States*, in one volume, by Cecil Chesterton.

Dr. Russell M. Story's monograph on *The American Municipal Executive* (Urbana, University of Illinois, 1918, pp. 231), has a chapter on the historical development of the mayoralty and, at other points, various contributions to the history of municipal development.

The January number of the *Catholic Historical Review*, completing the fourth volume of that valuable periodical, has three main articles: one by Thomas F. Meehan on Catholic Literary New York, from the foundation of the *Shamrock* in 1810 to 1840; one on the history of the Gallipolis Colony (leaving at one side the land speculation) by Rev. Laurence J. Kenny, S.J.; and one by Rev. Gilbert Garraghan, of the same society, on the St. Regis Seminary at Florissant, Missouri. Father Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., has a learned note on Florida's first bishop, the Franciscan Bishop Juan Juárez. There is also presented the first installment of a translation by Dr. H. I. Priestley, of the University of California, of "A Historical, Political, and Natural Description of California", written in 1775 by Don Pedro Fages, and now preserved in the Museo Nacional in Mexico City. South Carolina history is illustrated by a letter written from Purysburg in 1733 by one J. B. Bourguin, a Swiss notary, to the Prince Bishop of Basel and printed from the papers of the late Dr. A. F. Bandelier.

In the December issue of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* appears an account, by J. Percy Keating, of the interesting career of John Keating (1760-1856), with some account also of his forbears. Fifteen Years of Canadian Church History is a brief paper by J. M. Lenhart, O.M.Cap. Martin I. J. Griffin's Life of Bishop Conwell is concluded.

Bulletin 59 of the Bureau of American Ethnology is a collection of *Kutenai Tales*, by Franz Boas. While the larger part of the texts were collected by Dr. Boas, the volume includes also a series collected by the late Dr. Alexander Chamberlain. The tales are given both in Kutenai and in English translation. Dr. Boas adds some thirty pages of abstracts and comparative notes. There is also a vocabulary occupying 75 pages.

Under the title *Negro Population, 1790-1915* (Government Printing Office, 1918, pp. 884) the census bureau has issued an invaluable collection of statistics respecting that subject, prepared by Mr. John Cummings of the division of revision and results.

A history of the Poles in America, by W. Kruszká, in thirteen volumes, in the Polish language, has been brought out in Milwaukee (C. N. Caspar). The title is *Historya Polika w Ameryce*.

It is announced that Mrs. Ida Husted Harper will write for the Leslie National Suffrage Commission a fifth volume of the *History of Woman Suffrage*. Mrs. Harper collaborated with Miss Susan B. Anthony in the preparation of the fourth volume, which covered the period from 1883 to 1900. It is expected that volume V. will be ready by the autumn of 1920.

The Yale University Press has brought out *A Century of Science in America, with especial Reference to the American Journal of Science, 1818-1918*, by Professor Edward S. Dana.

Industry and Trade: Historical and Descriptive Account of their Development in the United States, by A. L. Bishop and A. G. Keller, is from the press of Ginn and Company.

The Story of the American Merchant Marine, by Willis J. Abbot, is announced for publication this spring by Dodd, Mead, and Company.

A miscellaneous collection of facts is brought together by Philip R. Dillon in a volume entitled *American Anniversaries: Every Day in the Year, presenting Seven Hundred and Fifty Events in United States History from the Discovery of America to the Present Day*, its title indicating the purpose of the work.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

A selection from the correspondence and miscellaneous papers of Jared Ingersoll, edited by Professor Franklin B. Dexter, is made available in advance from volume XIX. of the *Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society* (pp. 201-472). The papers, acquired by the society in 1903, illustrate Ingersoll's early career, his labors as agent for Connecticut in London, the celebrated episode of his service as stamp distributor for Connecticut in 1765, and his career as vice-admiralty judge in Philadelphia. The letters from that city in 1774-1776 are especially interesting.

A volume bearing the title *A Hidden Phase of American History: Ireland's Part in America's Struggle for Liberty*, by M. J. O'Brien, is announced for early publication by the Devin-Adair Company of New York.

Publication no. 99 of the Western Reserve Historical Society is a monograph, by Professor Elbert J. Benton, entitled *The Movement for Peace without a Victory during the Civil War*. The study is particularly of the policies of the Peace Democrats of the Northwest and becomes in great measure a narrative of the activities of Clement L. Vallandigham.

Forthcoming volumes in Scribner's *Figures from American History* are: *Robert E. Lee*, by D. S. Freeman, and *Stephen A. Douglas*, by Louis Howland.

H. J. Eckenrode has written a short *Life of Nathan B. Forrest*, which has been brought out by the B. F. Johnson Publishing Company.

Brentano of New York has issued an album of about one hundred plates, photographed from the original lithographs of the period 1854-1872, under the title *American Caricatures concerning the Civil War Period* (1918).

It is announced that Edward S. Martin is engaged upon a biography of Joseph H. Choate, which Charles Scribner's Sons will publish. Persons who have letters from Mr. Choate are asked to communicate with Mr. Martin in care of Messrs. Scribner, 597 Fifth Avenue, New York.

William Dudley Foulke is the author of a volume of reminiscences of the Civil Service Reform movement to which he gives the title *Fighting the Spoilsmen* (Putnam).

The late Mrs. Corra Bacon-Foster's valuable monograph on *Clara Bacon, Humanitarian*, mentioned in our review of the last volume of the Columbia Historical Society, has been separately printed as a small volume of eighty pages, of which copies may be obtained from Miss Violet Bacon-Foster, The Marlborough, Washington, D. C.

It is announced that Charles Scribner's Sons will publish in the near future an authorized biography of Theodore Roosevelt, from the hand of Joseph B. Bishop. It is understood that in large measure Mr. Roosevelt's letters will be allowed to tell the story of his life. It is also announced that a collection of the letters to his children or to others concerning them, together with some letters from the Roosevelt sons at the front, will be brought out in a separate volume.

A new edition of James Morgan's *Theodore Roosevelt: the Boy and the Man*, containing new chapters which complete the story of Roosevelt's life, has just been issued (Macmillan).

A journalistic account, from an English pen, of various aspects of American life and of the period preceding the entry of the United States into the war is set forth in *America's Day* by Ignatius Phayre (Dodd, Mead, pp. 425).

Three brief studies of President Wilson and his policies have recently appeared in England: *The Peace President*, by William Archer (Hutchinson); *President Wilson: his Problems and his Policy*, by H. W. Harris (Headley); and *President Wilson: the Man and his Message*, by C. S. Jones (Rider).

THE UNITED STATES IN THE WAR

A volume of President Wilson's *Addresses and Messages* has been issued by Boni and Liveright. *Messages and Addresses to the Congress and the People, January 31, 1918, to December 2, 1918; together with the Peace Notes to Germany and Austria; with an Appendix containing the corrected Text of the Armistice* is from the press of Harper and Brothers. *Americanism: Woodrow Wilson's Speeches on the War*, compiled, edited, and annotated by Oliver Marble Gale, is put forth in Chicago by the Baldwin Syndicate. Also there appears a new and enlarged edition of *President Wilson's State Papers and Addresses*, with editorial notes, etc., published by Messrs. Doran.

The Historical Branch of the General Staff has put forth in a pamphlet of thirty-nine pages (War Department Document no. 885) a useful sketch, *Economic Mobilization in the United States for the War of 1917*, in which the organization and operation of the Council of National Defense, the Shipping Board, the Food and Fuel Administrations, the War Industries Board, the War Trade Board, and the machinery of war finance, railroad control and adjustments respecting labor and employment are briefly surveyed.

With a view to a future financial history of our part in the Great War, the American Economic Association in the spring of 1918 appointed a Committee on War Finance, which was to make a critical study of fiscal events in this country throughout the war. The first report of this committee, which appeared early in the year, studies the methods of taxation used by the government, public credit, expansion, and wage and price conditions.

It is announced that Professor J. S. Bassett is preparing a volume on the war which A. A. Knopf will publish. The title of the work will be *Our War with Germany*.

The American Jewish Committee has issued, through its Office of War Records (31 Union Square, New York) of which Julian Leavitt is director, *The War Record of American Jews* (pp. 50). This record does not profess to be complete, but is only a first report, to be supplemented by additional reports as additional information accrues. Information now available indicates clearly, it is said, that the Jews of America have not only contributed their full quota to the winning of the war, but a generous margin beyond their quota.

Dear Folks at Home is the title given to a collection of letters written by United States Marines from training camps and battle-fronts, compiled and edited by K. F. Cowing and G. R. Cooper (Houghton).

Ferri-Pisani has endeavored to present the principal considerations involved in *L'Intérêt et l'Idéal des États-Unis dans la Guerre Mondiale* (Paris, Perrin, 1918, pp. 247).

A large amount of material relating to the participation of Connecticut in the World War is being assembled in the Connecticut State Library. Special questionnaires covering the records of soldiers, sailors, civilians, and organizations have been prepared and forwarded to the several war bureaus and organizations interested. The work is in charge of an advisory committee of twelve, of which Professor Charles M. Andrews of Yale University is chairman.

The Buffalo Historical Society has issued a *Popular History of the War*, a pamphlet of 36 pages, by Merton M. Wilner. It contains a chronology of the war from June 28, 1914, to November 21, 1918, a compact but comprehensive narrative of events, and several maps.

A portion of Pennsylvania's part in the war is chronicled in *The Iron Division: the National Guard of Pennsylvania in the World War*, by H. G. Proctor (Philadelphia, Winston).

(See also pp. 534-538, *supra*.)

LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

A notable gift has been made to the Massachusetts Historical Society by Mr. W. B. H. Dowse. He has provided for the publication by the society of the journals of the Massachusetts House of Representatives during the whole provincial period. It will be remembered that the printed volumes, beginning in 1715, are excessively rare, and that the journals from 1692 to 1714, as well as for certain subsequent sessions, exist only in manuscript. It is not easy to see how any publication can cast a greater amount of valuable light upon our colonial history than that which is now proposed. Provision for the subsequent printing of other state records is included in the gift. The society has also received, from representatives of the late Henry Adams, the gift of his rich and remarkable library, and from Miss S. Z. Preble the papers, valuable for naval history, of her father Rear-Admiral George H. Preble. The American Academy of Arts and Sciences has deposited in the library of the society some eighty volumes of laws, legislative journals, and Massachusetts newspapers of the eighteenth century.

The October-December serial of the Massachusetts Historical Society's *Proceedings* contains, besides the papers by Mr. Bigelow and Professor Emerton elsewhere mentioned, matter commemorative of the late Abner C. Goodell, jr., and of Dr. Samuel A. Green; also an entertaining account of Mr. Henry Adams's teaching of history at Harvard, by Lindsay Swift.

In the forthcoming volume XX. of the *Publications* of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Mr. John H. Edmonds has an interesting study of the career of Captain Thomas Pound, pilot, pirate, and cartographer,

temp. Andros, which, with accompanying documents, is printed in advance from the volume mentioned.

The Connecticut Society, Daughters of 1812, have arranged to deposit their collection of manuscripts, etc., in the Connecticut State Library, and a special bookplate for use on the collection is being prepared. The assembling of this material is in charge of a special committee.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The New York State Library, 1818-1918, is an historical sketch issued by the Library.

The Manuscripts Division of the New York State Library has acquired a large body of manuscripts relating to the Platt family in Poughkeepsie and Plattsburg. Much of the material concerns the early settlement of Plattsburg. The Division of Archives and History has in press the *Journal of Peter de Sailly of Plattsburg*.

Among the contents of the January number of the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* are: Arms and Crests for Americans, being the report of the committee on heraldry submitted by the chairman, John R. Delafield; some Records of the Reformed Dutch Church of Wawarsing, edited by R. W. Vosburgh; an account, by John R. Totten, of the Cloth of Gold and Pitcher presented by Captain Kidd to John Gardiner and his wife, of Gardiner's Island; a paper, by W. S. Gordon, concerning Gabriel Ludlow (1663-1736) and his Descendants; and Some Vital Statistics of Revolutionary Worthies, contributed by Miss Elizabeth Cowing.

The Colonial Citizens of New York City: a Comparative Study of Certain Aspects of Citizenship Practice in Fourteenth Century England and Colonial New York City, by Robert Francis Seybolt, constitutes no. 1 of the *University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History*.

Historic Green Point, by William L. Felter, is a brief account of the beginning and development of the northerly section of the borough of Brooklyn (Brooklyn, Green Point Savings Bank).

Vol. XXX. of the *Documents relating to the Colonial History of New Jersey* has come from the press. This is the second volume of the *Calendar of New Jersey Wills, Administrations, etc.*, edited for the New Jersey Historical Society by A. Van Doren Honeyman.

Included in the *Proceedings* of the New Jersey Historical Society, issue of July, 1918, are a paper by W. H. Benedict concerning Early Taverns in New Brunswick, and the second of the papers of Edward Wall describing Raids in Southeastern Virginia Fifty Years Ago.

In the July (1918) number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* appears an extended account, by E. V. Lamberton, of

Colonial Libraries of Pennsylvania. The History of the Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike, by Hon. Charles I. Landis, is continued. In the department of Notes and Queries are two letters of interest from Samuel Bryan of Philadelphia, one, dated Nov. 3, 1785, to his father, George Bryan, at that time a member of the state supreme court, and another, dated May 20, 1790, to his brother.

The Macmillan Company announce for early publication a volume by Isaac Sharpless entitled *Political Leaders of Provincial Pennsylvania*.

A *Sketch of the History of Baptist Education in Pennsylvania*, by F. G. Lewis, is published at Chester by Crozer Theological Seminary.

Seagrove, Pennsylvania; Chronology, vol. I., 1700-1850, including plans, facsimiles, etc., is compiled by W. M. Schnure (Middleburg, Pennsylvania, *Middleburg Post*).

The January number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* contains the first two chapters of a study, by George A. Cribbs, of the Frontier Policy of Pennsylvania. Chapter I. deals with the Indian policy, 1682-1800; chapter II. with Indian trade, 1680-1770. An article on the Pennsylvania Canals, by James Macfarlane, is from a manuscript written in 1875. Burd S. Patterson gives a brief sketch of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania: its History, Objects, and Achievements.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The principal content of the December number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* is a continuation of the narrative by Henry Barnard of a tour of the South Atlantic States in 1833, edited by Bernard C. Steiner. At the opening of this installment of the narrative the writer is in Washington (January), where he meets many prominent people and listens to the speeches in Congress on nullification, etc. Thence he moves southward, pausing in each important town, as far as Savannah and Charleston, returning by water to Old Point Comfort, Norfolk and Richmond, thence via Charlottesville, Frederick, Baltimore, and Philadelphia, to New York. There is much of valuable and interesting observation on people and conditions.

The Virginia State Library has received from the Henrico County circuit court all its records prior to 1781, the transfer being made in accordance with the act of the Virginia assembly of 1918. These records comprise nineteen volumes and eighteen bundles of papers (wills, deeds, etc.), among them an excellent index to the five volumes of Colonial Records, 1677-1739. Under the direction of the state archivist, Mr. Morgan P. Robinson, the systematic arrangement of several classes of papers in the library and the indexing of the Confederate records are progressing.

The Royal Government in Virginia, 1624-1775, by Percy S. Flippin,

appears among the *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*.

Forty years ago or more N. F. Cabell made a collection of references to Virginia agriculture, preparatory to writing a comprehensive history of the subject. This manuscript is now published by the Virginia State Library, with the title *A Contribution to the Bibliography of Agriculture in Virginia* (*Bulletin*, vol. XI., nos. 1, 2). It is edited by Earl G. Swem, assistant state librarian, who has made some additions and expansions.

The January number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* contains a paper on Major Henry Wirz, commandant at Andersonville in the Civil War; also a number of letters from General George Weedon to Lafayette and others in June, 1781, reprinted from *Papers relating chiefly to the Maryland Line*, edited by Thomas Balch (Philadelphia, 1857).

The North Carolina Historical Commission has brought out its *Seventh Biennial Report* (*Publications*, Bulletin no. 24). The report records specifically the accessions of manuscript materials during the biennium, the progress made in the classification and arrangement of manuscripts, and also the commission's activities in the matter of erecting historical markers, of which about forty-five were erected or arranged for. The principal accessions of historical materials have been mentioned from time to time in the pages of this journal. Besides the executive papers and letter-books transferred from the governor's office (the commission now has these nearly to date), many counties have deposited their earlier records with the commission.

A History of Halifax County (North Carolina), by W. C. Allen, is from the press of the Cornhill Company, Boston.

The *Georgia Historical Quarterly* for June, 1918, published by the Georgia Historical Society at Savannah, contains an interesting account of the Wymberley Jones De Renne Georgia Library, by its librarian, Mr. Leonard L. Mackall.

WESTERN STATES

The December number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* contains a study by Professor St. George L. Sioussat of Andrew Johnson and the Early Phases of the Homestead Bill, a paper by Professor A. C. Cole entitled the Passing of the Frontier, one by Theodore G. Gronert on Trade in the Blue Grass Region, 1810-1820, and one by H. K. Murphey on the Northern Railroads and the Civil War.

The January number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* contains a paper, by Byron E. Long, on Joshua R. Giddings, which includes a number of letters to Giddings from prominent men, among them Henry Clay, Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison,

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Henry Wilson, Greeley, Weed, Chase, and Sumner. The letters are given in facsimile as well as printed text, the latter showing frequent errors in transcription. Professor W. H. Siebert has a paper on the Tory Proprietors of Kentucky Lands, and Mr. Carl Wittke discusses the change of attitude on the part of the German-language press in Ohio after the declaration of war.

In the *Ohio History Teachers' Journal* for November Professor A. M. Schlesinger has a short paper on the subject of Mobilizing Ohio's Historical Resources. In the January number Raymond Moley discusses Reconstruction in Civic Education. There are also three articles upon present-day problems of history teaching: the Teaching of European History after the War, by J. Warren Ayer, Reconstruction of the Methods of Teaching American History after the War, by C. P. Shively, and Principal Weaknesses of Freshmen in History, with some Consideration of the Remedy, by E. W. Dow.

A History of Cleveland and its Environs: the Heart of New Connecticut, in three volumes, is from the pen of Dr. Elroy M. Avery (Chicago, Lewis Publishing Company).

The December number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* contains a study, by E. D. Stewart, of the Populist Party in Indiana, a history of Warrick County prior to 1818, by Arvil S. Barr, a biographical account, by George Pence, of General Joseph Bartholomew (1766-1840), a pioneer of Indiana, and a sketch of Edward A. Hannegan, member of Congress from Indiana, 1833-1837, senator, 1843-1849, and minister to Prussia, 1849-1850.

In *Early Indiana Trails and Surveys* (*Indiana Historical Society Publications*, vol. VI., no. 3, pp. 110) George R. Wilson, himself a civil engineer and surveyor, has given interesting historical accounts of the early trails and "traces" of Indiana and also of a number of the pioneer surveys, drawing his materials from many sources. There are several plates and maps.

The issue of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* which bears the date October, 1917, makes its appearance nearly a year and a half late. Much of the editorial section pertains so clearly to a date much subsequent to that worn upon the face of the magazine as to emphasize the incongruity; *e. g.*, the bulletin of the Wisconsin War History Commission quoted on pages 437-439 was not issued until April, 1918. The papers in the issue include one by George A. Brennan on Major Godfrey de Linctot, "Guardian of the Frontier", and some Historical Notes on Lawrence County, Illinois, by Mary Trace White. There is also a letter from Robert Anderson of Fort Sumter fame, written from Tours, France, May 10, 1870, to E. B. Washburne, minister to France, relating some of his recollections of the Black Hawk War. The January, 1918, number of the *Journal*, which comes to hand just

as these notes are going to press, has for its principal content a monograph on the Oregon Trail, by J. T. Dorris. There are two articles by Jane M. Johns concerning Lincoln, one of them, entitled a Momentous Incident in the History of Illinois, relating an incident of the senatorial election of 1855 in which the writer figured. Another paper is an account, by Charles A. Kent, of the Treaty of Greenville, August 3, 1795, together with a reprint of the text of the treaty.

The *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* for January contains a continuation of the editor's article on Father Gibault and an article by him on the Catholic Church in Illinois in the transitional period from French and English to American jurisdiction, from 1763 to the establishment of the diocese of Chicago in 1843; a paper on the Lazarists in Illinois, by Rev. Charles L. Souvay, C. M.; one on Father Huet de la Valinière, by Rev. J. B. Culemans; a picturesque narrative of the establishment of the first convent in Illinois (Sisters of the Visitation, Kaskaskia, 1833-1844), being reminiscences of Sister Mary Josephine Barber; and a letter of Bishop Quarter of Chicago, 1846, from the *Berichte der Leopoldinen-Stiftung*.

The *Register* of the Kentucky State Historical Society for January contains an article by A. C. Quisenberry on the Battle of Perryville, Kentucky.

The September number of the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* is occupied almost entirely with a continuation of Mr. A. V. Goodpasture's narrative of the Indian Wars and Warriors of the Old Southwest, 1730-1807. The number contains a portrait of Judge Friend, Chief of the Cherokees, made in London in 1762, said to be the only existing portrait of a Cherokee chief of the period.

The January number of the *Michigan History Magazine* contains the sixth annual report of the Michigan Historical Commission, two of the prize essays in the commission's prize contest on America and the Great War, an account, by Col. Roy C. Vandercook, of the work of the Michigan War Preparedness Board, and a discussion, by Professor C. H. Van Tyne, of Democracy's Educational Problem. Rev. John R. Command relates something of the Story of Grosse Ile.

Among the recent acquisitions of historical materials by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin are: the Civil War diary of Lieut. A. V. Knapp, four volumes, presented by his widow; a collection of about 200 letters written from the front during the Civil War, presented by E. O. Kimberley; the Civil War correspondence of Peter Larson, a private of the Iron Brigade, presented by his daughter; a small collection of Civil War papers of Col. Michael H. Fitch; and a collection of newspapers printed during the great blizzard of 1880-1881 on non-descript materials.

The contents of the December number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* include a biographical sketch of Alfred Brunson, Pioneer of Wisconsin Methodism, by Ella C. Brunson; an account, by Rev. P. Perin (to be continued), of the great forest fire which swept over north-eastern Wisconsin in 1871; a letter from a prosperous manufacturer in Cologne to a relative in Wisconsin, written in December, 1914, setting forth the German view of the war; and a number of letters from Wisconsin boys on the battle-front.

A bill has been introduced in the Minnesota legislature and favorably reported in both houses to authorize the Minnesota Historical Society to act as custodian of state and local archives. A miscellaneous body of material from the governor's office has already been tentatively transferred to the society. Among the recent accessions of manuscript material is a journal of Rev. Samuel W. Pond, for twenty years a missionary among the Sioux Indians. Some four hundred letters of the correspondence of this missionary have been loaned to the society for copying. The society has installed a photostat and is in a position to supply copies of material in its possession at a comparatively low cost.

The Minnesota War Records Commission has set forth in *Bulletin* no. 1 its plans and purposes. A bill has been introduced in the legislature to establish the commission by legislative act (see p. 344, *ante*).

The Speaker of the House of Representatives in Iowa is the title of a study by Cyril B. Upham in the January number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*. The American Occupation of Iowa, 1833 to 1860, is an account, by Cardinal Goodwin, of the settlement of Iowa during that period.

Two recent issues of the series *Iowa and War* have the titles: the State Historical Society of Iowa in War Times, and Shall the Story of Iowa's Part in the War be Preserved?

Articles in the January number of the *Missouri Historical Review* are: the Missouri Merchant One Hundred Years Ago, by J. B. White; Early Days on Grand River and the Mormon War, by R. J. Britton; and Missouri Capitals and Capitols, by Jonas Viles. The two last mentioned are to be continued.

The Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, has recently acquired, by gift, letters and autographed engravings of most of the signers of the Declaration of Independence; also a minute book of the court of common pleas of St. Clair County, Indiana Territory, held at Cahokia, 1801-1805.

A worthy addition to the growing number of local Catholic historical journals has been made by the founding of the *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, with the Rev. Dr. Souvay, C. M., as chief editor.

The January number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* con-

tains the second part of the study, the First Europeans in Texas, 1528-1536, by Herbert Davenport and Joseph K. Wells, the fifth installment of the Minutes of the Ayuntamiento of San Felipe de Austin, 1828-1832, edited by Professor Barker, and a paper, by W. C. Binkley, on the Last Stage of Texan Military Operations against Mexico, 1843.

The Texas State Library expects to publish during the year the papers of Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar, first president of the republic of Texas.

The *Collections*, vol. XIV. (1915-1918), of the Kansas State Historical Society has come from the press.

Charles Scribner's Sons have brought out a *History of the State of Idaho*, by C. J. Brosnan.

Mr. John E. Rees of Salmon, Idaho, is the author of a small volume bearing the title: *Idaho Chronology, Nomenclature, Bibliography* (pp. 125).

In the October number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly*, beside continued papers hitherto mentioned, are the first part of a History of Irrigation in the State of Washington, by Rose M. Boening, a brief article concerning Western Spruce and the War, by Professor Edmond S. Meany, and one on Slavery among the Indians of Northwest America, by H. F. Hunt. The journal of the constitutional convention of 1878, which is concluded in the October number, is followed in the January number by an installment of the text of the constitution, edited, with an introduction, by John T. Condon. In the January number appears also, besides the second part of Rose M. Boening's paper on Irrigation in Washington, an analysis, by Pearl Russell, of what is known as the Pacific Railroad Reports, that is, the reports and records of the five expeditions sent out in 1853 to explore and survey available railroad routes to the Pacific.

The Eastern Washington State Historical Society, organized in Spokane in 1916, has issued a pamphlet containing its *History, Constitution, and Annual Report, 1918*.

The principal paper in the September number of the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* is the second installment of Dr. L. B. Shippee's study of the Federal Relations of Oregon. T. C. Elliott writes a brief account of the coming to the Columbia River in August, 1818, of the United States naval vessel, *Ontario* (Captain James Biddle), sent out by the government for the purpose of asserting title over the country. The correspondence of the Rev. Ezra Fisher (1853) continues. In the December number Mr. Elliott presents an account of the surrender at Astoria in 1818 from the papers of J. B. Prevost in the Department of State at Washington. Professor Shippee's contribution and the correspondence of Rev. Ezra Fisher are continued, the former to 1844.

T. C. Russell of San Francisco has brought out a line-for-line reprint of the original edition (1839) of Alexander Forbes's *California*.

Mrs. Emma O. Elmer, chief of the public documents section of the Philippine Library and Museum, has compiled a *Check List of Publications of the Government of the Philippine Islands, September 1, 1900 to December 31, 1917* (Manila, Bureau of Printing, 1918, pp. 288), which will be an indispensable manual for all students of recent Philippine history.

CANADA

Professor W. P. M. Kennedy has contributed much to the illumination of Canadian history by his edition of *Documents of the Canadian Constitution, 1795-1915* (Oxford University Press). Professor Kennedy is also the author of an historical introduction to Mr. A. H. F. Lefroy's *Short Treatise on Canadian Constitutional Law* (Toronto, Caswell). *Canadian Constitutional Development*, a volume of selected speeches and despatches, edited by Professors H. E. Egerton and W. L. Grant (John Murray), is of use in the same field.

The Canadian government has published in a volume of 1013 pages (Montreal) an *Index to Dominion and Provincial Statutes from the Earliest Period down to 1916*.

The *Papers and Records*, vol. XVI., of the Ontario Historical Society contains, among other things, some account, by J. Davis Barnett, of the Books of the Political Prisoners and Exiles of 1838, an article, by Lieut.-Col. A. E. Belcher, entitled the Latest Milestones in the History of Civilization, and a History of the Windsor and Detroit Ferries, by F. J. Holton, D. H. Bedford, and Francis Cleary.

AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

With its November issue the *Hispanic American Historical Review* completes a first volume of such merit and usefulness as fully to justify its existence, and it may be hoped that the new journal has already passed beyond the stage of experiment. The number opens with an article of exceptional value and interest by Professor W. L. Schurz, on Mexico, Peru, and the Manila Galleon. Miss Ethel M. Crampton and Miss Laura F. Ullrick give a preliminary sketch of the Administration of Gen. José Ballivián as president of Bolivia, 1841-1847, based on the volumes of his correspondence possessed by Northwestern University. Mr. Philip A. Means describes Race and Society in the Andean Countries. Miss Mary W. Williams prints a group of letters of E. G. Squier to Secretary Clayton in 1849 and 1850, relating to the former's negotiations and efforts in Central America. Among the notes is a discussion of the Philippine *situado*, by Professor Schurz. The February number, opening the second volume, contains a study of the rebellion of Tupac-

Amaru, by Philip A. Means; a body of interesting data respecting United States merchant shipping in the Rio de la Plata, 1801-1808, collected from early American newspapers, by Charles L. Chandler, and a group of documents from the British Museum, Add. MSS. 22680, relating to the English attack on Cartagena in 1741, and an attack then proposed on Porto Bello and Panama. Mr. C. K. Jones provides a valuable survey of the materials in the Library of Congress on Hispanic America.

A History of Latin America, by Professor W. W. Sweet, is designed as a college text-book as well as for general reading (Abingdon Press).

Gaston Gaillard has discussed the relations of *Amérique Latine et Europe Occidentale: l'Amérique Latine et la Guerre* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1918, pp. 308).

Mexico from Cortes to Carranza, by Louise S. Hasbrouck, designed to be a popular history of Mexico, is from the press of D. Appleton and Company.

Professor W. S. Robertson's *Francisco de Miranda and the Revolutionizing of Spanish America* (prize essay of the American Historical Association, 1909) has been translated into Spanish by Señor Diego Mendoza and published, at Bogotá, by the National Academy of History as volume XXI. of the *Biblioteca de Historia Nacional*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: V. W. Crane, *A Lost Utopia of the American Frontier* (Sewanee Review, January-March); P.-G. Roy, *Les Officiers d'État-Major des Gouvernements de Québec, Montréal, et de Trois-Rivières sous le Régime Français* [cont.] (Revue Canadienne, December, January, February); H. St. G. Tucker, *Patrick Henry and St. George Tucker* (University of Pennsylvania Law Review, January); A. Aulard, *La Révolution Américaine et la Révolution Française: Franklin* (La Révolution Française, September); Rear-Admiral C. M. Chester, *The United States Marines in the Penobscot Bay Expedition, 1779* (Marine Corps Gazette, December); J. C. Fitzpatrick, *Peace and Demobilization in 1783* (Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine, March); E. V. Wills, *The Case of Doctor Cooper* [a case under the Alien and Sedition Laws of 1798] (South Atlantic Quarterly, January); F. P. Renaut, *La Question de la Louisiane, 1796-1806*, I. (Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises, 1918, 3); A. J. Morrison, *Virginia Works and Days, 1814-1819* (South Atlantic Quarterly, January); W. K. Boyd, *Federal Politics in North Carolina, 1824-1836*, [cont.] (*ibid.*); D. R. Fox, *The Economic Status of the New York Whigs* (Political Science Quarterly, December); H. A. Forster, *Did the Decision in the Dred Scott Case lead to the Civil War?* (American Law Review, November-December); J. W. Pratt, *Naval Operations on the Virginia Rivers in the Civil War* (U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings, February); P. J. Treat, *The Foundation of American Policy in the Far*

East (Journal of Race Development, October); E. Boutroux, *Le Président Wilson, Historien du Peuple Américain* (Revue des Deux Mondes, November 1); A. Chevrillon, *Parmi les Américains, Juillet-Septembre, 1918* [observations mainly at Brest] (Revue de Paris, December 1, 15, January 1); General John J. Pershing, *Official Story* (Infantry Journal, March); Sir John Willison, *Reminiscences, Political and Personal* [cont.] (Canadian Magazine, December, January, February).